

VOLUME 41 | 2005

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# Augusta Historical Bulletin

Published by the

AUGUSTA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## *Augusta Historical Bulletin*: Editorial Policy

The editors of the *Augusta Historical Bulletin* welcome submissions relating to any topic or period in the history of Augusta County, Virginia, and its wider environs. Submissions may take the form of articles, research notes, edited documents, or indexes to historical documents. Other formats might be acceptable but prospective authors of such submissions are encouraged to consult with a member of the editorial board. With rare exceptions, the *Bulletin* does not publish manuscripts that focus exclusively on genealogical matters. Authors should strive to make their contributions accessible to a broad readership. In matters of form and style, authors should adhere to the guidelines and strictures set forth in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed., or Kate L. Turabian, et al., *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., both of which are widely available in libraries and bookstores. A style sheet, prepared by the editors of the *Bulletin*, is available upon request. Authors should submit four double-spaced copies of their manuscripts, with endnotes where applicable, and include photocopies of any illustrations. Upon acceptance of the manuscript for publication, authors must provide an electronic copy of it, as well as publishable-quality illustrations.

**Manuscripts or requests for style sheets should be sent to: The Augusta County Historical Society, Attention: Bulletin Editors, P.O. Box 686, Staunton, Virginia 24402-0686. Please try to submit proposed manuscripts by June 1, 2006. Queries may also be sent to: Nancy Sorrells (lotswife@adelphia.net) or Katharine Brown (klbrown@cfw.com).**

# Valley of the Shadow

## Life in Augusta County on the eve of war by Dr. Edward Ayers

*Dr. Edward Ayers, Dean at the University of Virginia and award-winning historian and author, presented information about life in Augusta County before and during the Civil War. Much of his presentation was taken from his most recent book, **In the Presence of Mine Enemies**. The following two articles include additional information gathered for that book but which was not included in the final publication. This work was based on the online digital archive, "The Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War" (<http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu>). The full text of the letters, diaries, and newspapers used to write these essays can be found on the Valley website, in addition to thousands of other records that detail life in the Valley during the Civil War.*

### A closer look at Augusta in the 1850s: Cultural Life

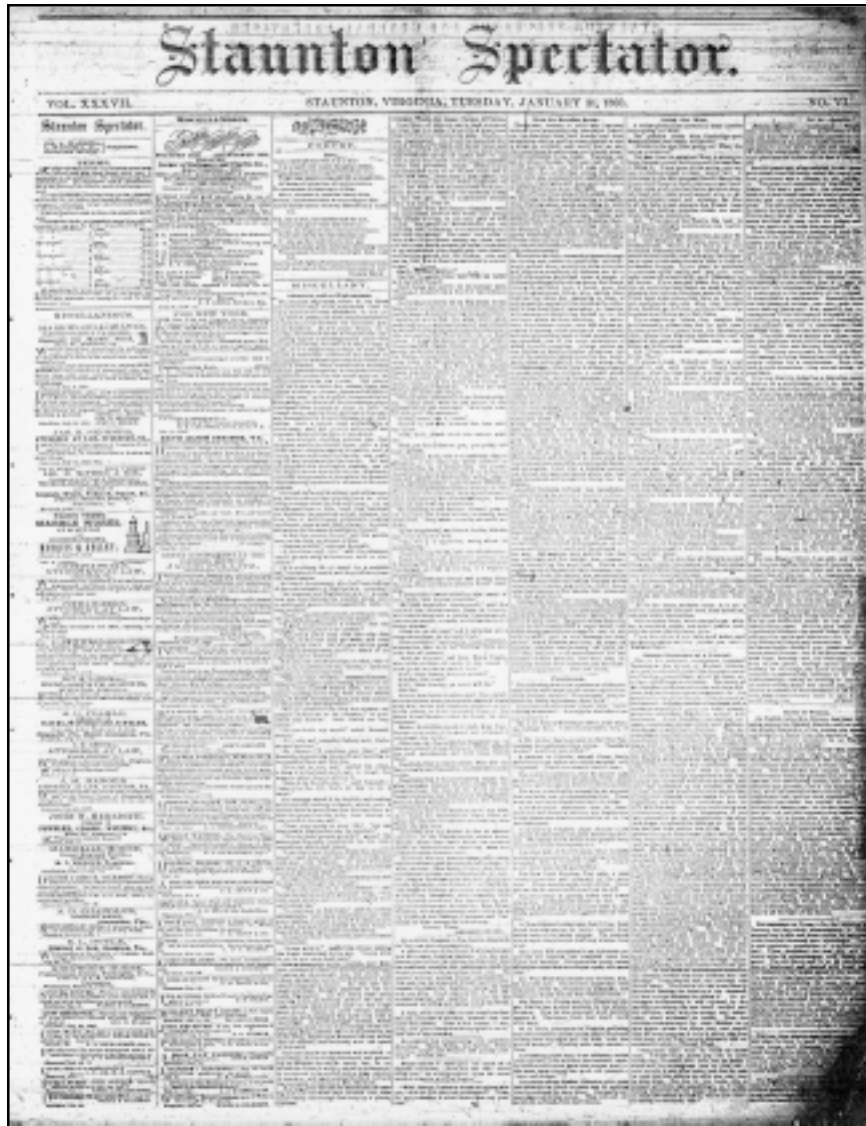
Newspaper editors served as the eyes and ears of their communities. The editors knew everyone in town and wanted their patronage, but they also spoke for specific political, business, family, and even religious interests. They had to be neutral and partisan at the same time, cheerful boosters of the community at large and vigilant advocates of particular people within that community. The two newspapers of Augusta struggled, with uneven success, to contain these conflicting impulses.

The *Staunton Spectator* was the older and better established of the two papers in town. It had been founded back in 1823 and had long carried the banner of the Whig Party. It claimed to have as wide a readership as any Virginia paper west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and spoke with the authority of a paper associated with some of the most prominent families of the Valley. The Waddell family, a respected and educated family of Staunton that included four physicians and six teachers, three of them women, published the *Spectator*.

Lyttleton Waddell, sixty-nine years old and the patriarch of the family, had edited the paper for years, but by 1859 two of his sons had taken over the job. Joseph, in his early forties, was a doctor as well as editor and had a small family; Lyttleton, Jr., thirty-one, was married as well and had two small sons. Each man owned about \$10,000 worth of property and both owned slaves. Lyttleton, Jr. held only one female

slave but Joseph possessed three. Altogether, various members of the family owned thirty-eight slaves.

The Waddells, of Scots-Irish background, had long been members of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton. Lyttleton had joined back in 1811, Joseph in 1841, and Lyttleton, Jr. in 1848. All the women of the family belonged to the church as well and sustained religion at the schools where they worked as mistresses and teachers. Various





members of the Waddells appeared in the Staunton newspapers for ministering to an Irish mine worker injured in an accident, marching in the militia, and organizing the Fourth of July celebration.

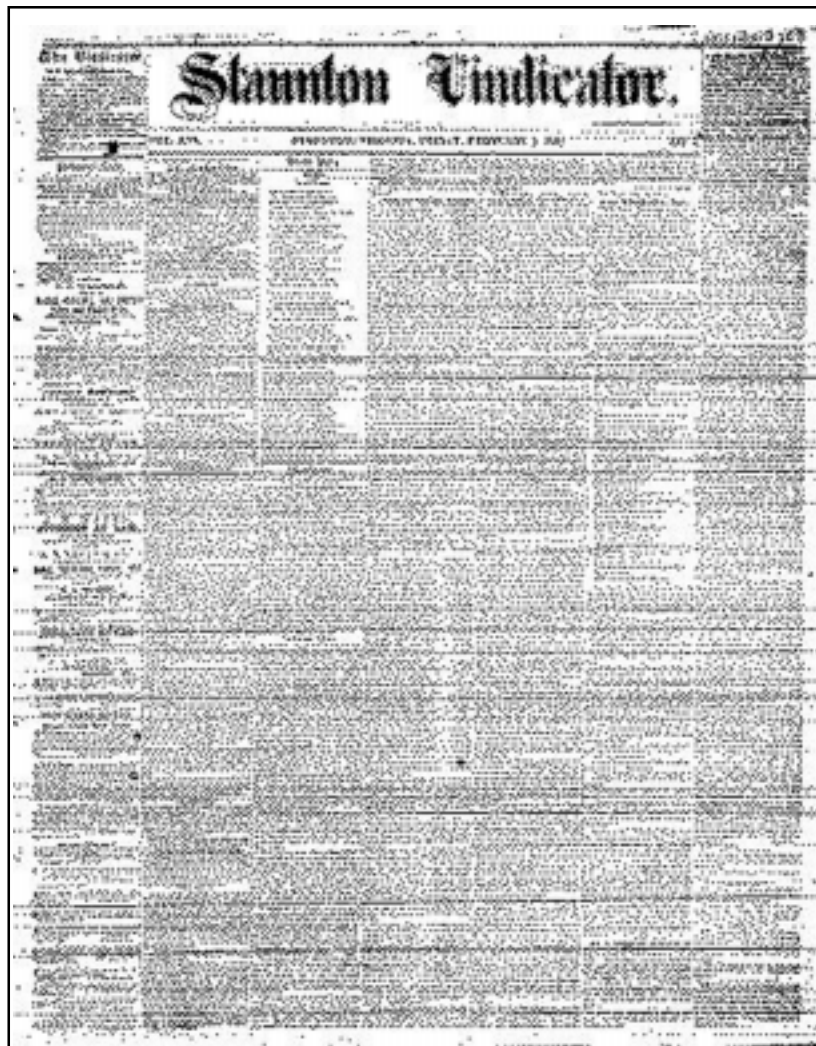
Most of the time, however, the Waddells appeared in the paper as active members of the Opposition Party. That awkward name belied the status of the party in Augusta, where the organization commanded the allegiance of most men. In earlier years, the Opposition had been known as both the Whig party and the Know-Nothing, or American, party. With the collapse of those organizations in the mid-1850s, the men who detested the Democrats, the only existing national party, defined themselves by what they were not. The Waddells worked as hard as they could to sustain an alternative to, and opposition to, the Democrats.

The *Vindicator*, the other paper in Staunton, flew the Democrats' banner. The *Vindicator* had neither the age nor the standing of the *Spectator*, for it had been founded in 1849 by German immigrant Frederick J. Alfred. After Alfred left Augusta in 1856 several other Germans tried their hand at the *Vindicator*. In 1858, however, the Michie family took control of the paper, with Henry in the editorship. The Michies, like the Waddells, were prominent in Augusta. The head of the family, Thomas, was sixty-three years old. He owned \$32,000 worth of property, including eighteen slaves and seven lots in Staunton. His son Henry, who actually edited the *Vindicator*, was only twenty-one years old, living at home with his parents and two sisters. His youthful voice sometimes comes through in the *Vindicator*; it is easy to imagine him as the correspondent bored with hearing the Declaration of Independence read in its entirety on the Fourth of July and as the person grumpy about being awakened by drum and fife music when he wanted to sleep in on a February morning. While his father and mother, along with his sisters Lalla and Margaret, belonged to Trinity Episcopal Church, Henry had not joined by the time he took over the editorship of the *Vindicator*.

The editors of the two papers of Augusta County, then, bore considerable similarities to one another. Both the younger Waddells and the young Michie were scions of established families in their counties, both were active in their community, and both belonged to church-going families that valued education and advancement. The editors certainly knew one another socially and even kidded one another in their papers. When Lyttleton Waddell, Jr., announced that he was open-

ing a real estate agency, his competitor at the *Vindicator* could not resist the temptation: “Mr. Waddell is well known as the junior editor of the ‘Spectator.’ We feel great hesitation in recommending a Know Nothing editor to the public, but we will venture the assertion that the one in question has reached the highest stage of honesty and intelligence to which Know Nothingism is capable.”

By the time of this jibe in 1859 the Know-Nothings had been defunct for years, the victim of their own internal divisions and the half-



heartedness nativism met in Virginia. But the editors of the two newspapers, and their readers, did not forget old allegiances. Political grudges ran for generations. Partisans continually searched for new vehicles for their animosity; they always found reason to distinguish themselves from their neighbors. The newspapers did all they could to cement the loyalty of their readers to their parties, whether that involved printing notices of meetings or promoting insults and character assassination.

The newspapers existed in large part as political vehicles. Much of their income came from the publication of the official business of the county; supporting successful candidates for mayor, judge, sheriff, and tax assessor was the surest route to publishing income. The papers also received funding from candidates eager to win the support of the major disseminators of information and opinion in their counties and districts. Even businesses took sides, with some advertising only in the paper of their political allies. The most apparently benign announcements of meetings, socials, and picnics often bore political meanings. Anyone reading the two papers of Augusta side by side would have been struck at how different community life appeared in the *Spectator* and the *Vindicator*.

The newspapers attested to how integrated Augusta and Staunton had become into the networks of trade and information by the 1850s. One issue of the *Spectator*, for example, advertised, in addition to the usual assortment of local doctors, dentists, music professors, grocers, and the like, hotels in Alexandria and the District of Columbia and brandies, coffees, and hams from New York. It sold religious books from Boston (*The Limits of Religious Thought*, *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic*, and the *Life of John Milton*) and sewing machines from Richmond and Norfolk. The paper contained an entire column of advertisements from Baltimore and several from Richmond. That issue of the *Spectator* told, too, that not only Staunton but even Waynesboro enjoyed a place on the entertainment circuit. The following week residents of both towns could look forward to seeing “Yankee Robinson’s Double Show Circus and Theatre,” displaying six lady performers and five clowns, a great moral drama on the “Days of ’76!,” and the “Longest Train of Arabian Horses Ever Driven in America!” When a blizzard stopped the trains, an editor of the *Spectator* nearly despaired. “No cars yet!—none since Saturday evening, so that we are in total ignorance [of] what is going on in the great world.” Two days later, the tracks remained blocked. “No cars yet. Just a week since we heard from Richmond, Washington, etc! A few minutes ago we thought

we heard the whistle, and ran to the door, but it seems to have been a mistake.” When, six days later, the train finally did arrive it brought thirty bags of mail and eighty newspapers.

Staunton was a cultured place for a relatively small town. It welcomed visitors such as Edward Everett, who rode the train down from the nation’s capital. Everett spoke on George Washington “to an appreciative and crowded house. The oration was eminently classical and learned, and fully came up to the distinguished author’s reputation as the most elegant and accomplished scholar in America.” A local group met regularly for their own lyceum in a local school and the town sustained a “Silver Concert Band, Orchestra, and Glee Club.” Large audiences gathered to hear the young ladies of the female institutes recite compositions and perform music at their commencement exercises.

Augusta, like the rest of Virginia, maintained a tenuous system of public schools. The state required that counties maintain boards of school commissioners and that these boards elect a superintendent of schools. In Augusta, thirty-two men served their neighborhoods as commissioners, dispersing about a hundred dollars each to poorer families with children to send to nearby primary schools. Neighboring families put up schools wherever enough students might be found. The small buildings were scattered over much of Augusta, in remote coves as well as among prosperous farms. Teacher, and funds, were often scarce for such places. Sixty-six people identified teaching as their profession in Augusta, including twenty-five women. Like their counterparts throughout the United States, teachers tended to be young, often in their late teens or early twenties. They had relatively little wealth and only one or two owned a slave.

Augusta prided itself on the fine schools it sustained for those with the means to pay. The county gathered within itself prominent schools for girls. “The fact is,” announced an entirely unbiased local reporter, “that Staunton is, of all places in Virginia, the best suited for female schools. Geographically it is near the centre of the State; the cars, stages and telegraph reach here from all sections; the health of the whole surrounding country is undoubted, and the morality of the population unimpeached.” The Wesleyan Female Institute offered young women a challenging curriculum. “We do not expect or desire that our women should become statesmen or jurists, but we do wish to see them prepared to take the position, that so well becomes them,

of guides and teachers to future Senators,” the paper enthused. “The energetic efforts of our friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have almost brought to perfection the system of female education.” Indeed, the paper judged that the institute offered a curriculum and facilities that “will compare with those of most of the male colleges in the State.”

The diary of a young woman at the Virginia Female Institute recorded her responses to such stimulating fare. Sarah Cordelia Wright, who worried about her academic performance, expressed great enthusiasm for learning the latest science. “After school we were told by our teacher that we were going to attend a lecture on electro biology delivered by Prof. Hall at the town hall: accordingly after tea we started, 21 of us in number,” she recorded. Wright, sixteen years old, thought the lecture “very interesting indeed, as most of the experiments.” The science came accompanied by religion, which Sarah welcomed but worried over. One of the teachers, following the death of a member of the school community, warned the girls “to ask ourselves the question am I prepared to die? and to fix upon some definite period when we would begin to prepare.” Sarah determined that “I will try and fix mine Now & not defer it until a more convenient season, for that may never come.”

Churches filled the Augusta countryside. The county, like many in the Valley, was quite heavily churched, nurturing fifty-four different congregations. The profile of denominations resembled that of many American communities. The Methodists dominated, with twenty-one churches and room for over five thousand congregants. The Presbyterians, however, reflected their greater wealth: their twelve churches held more people than the Methodists’ twenty-one. The First Presbyterian Church, where Woodrow Wilson’s father served as pastor in 1856 when the future president was born in Staunton, was especially impressive. Augusta had two Episcopal churches, including the lovely Trinity Episcopal in the heart of Staunton, and one Catholic church. As in other Valley counties, the most distinctive churches were those of German background: the Mennonites maintained one church, the Tunkers four, the German Lutherans five, and the Lutherans seven. Together, these churches constituted a major religious force in the county, with space for 4,700 worshippers, nearly as many as the powerful Methodists and Presbyterians. No one denomination controlled the religious life of Augusta’s spacious countryside.

### A closer look at Augusta in the 1850s: African-American Lives

Slaveowners benefited from hiring out their slaves. By renting out Sally, a widow such as Mrs. Carrington, for example, could maintain a smaller household than when her husband was alive and her children were at home. A young female slave would appreciate in value throughout her twenties, especially if placed in a position where she could acquire skill as a servant, seamstress, or cook. Since John McCue, one of the leading politicians of Augusta and a wealthy farmer with twelve slaves of his own, found Sally an appealing cook or housekeeper, she must have been skilled. If she were young enough to bear children, all the better for Mrs. Carrington, since children became the property of the mother's owner (though the hirer might not be pleased at the pregnancy). A slaveowner such as Mary Carrington, therefore, had good economic reasons to hire out a slave for which she had no immediate purpose. Such an arrangement gave a slaveholder welcome flexibility.

Those who hired slaves devoted considerable energy to acquiring them. W.W. Gibbs looked for a female slave for John McCue: "I went to every place I thought I could procure you a cook or nurse but could find none all having been disposed of. I hear Tho Bowan near Greenwood Tunnel has a good cook for hire if you are not supplied you had best write to him or come over and see him such as you want is hard to find." Networks of hiring stretched from city to city, city to town, and farm to farm.

From the slave's point of view, being hired out could be either a boon or a curse. Anyone who belonged to a stingy, violent, lecherous, drunk, or unstable master might well look forward to the opportunity to escape to another farm, house, or shop. A young slave might welcome the chance to live in town, where he or she could find friends or a mate. A slave confronted with two masters might be able to find some space to navigate between the two, leveraging some leniency from one into a leniency from the other or threatening to report ill treatment to a master who had the money to sue. Some slaves talked owners into letting them keep some of the money they earned. Through such means, they might eventually purchase a family member, or themselves, from slavery. The *Vindicator* considered "the policy of permitting slaves to hire their own time, or get persons to stand as their masters" a "source of great annoyance to our town. The habit induces idleness among slaves, and is the cause of all kinds of trafficking among them, which is more or less connected with petty thefts. These evils should be radically corrected without delay. The quicker the better."

Some slaves dreaded the prospect of being hired out. They did not want to be separated from a beloved spouse or children. They did not want to be shipped to strangers, away from friends. Slavery was unpredictable enough; a slave's life could be overturned in the moment an old master died or a young mistress was married. They did not need yet another element of disruption and risk. Who knew what kind of master or mistress awaited at the end of the trip? A young slave woman had to worry about sexual advances from the men whose house she shared; a young man might worry about where this first step away from parents and siblings might lead.

The trade in slaves could implicate any propertied white man in the county. Even those who shunned trading themselves might not be able to avoid such dealings when a friend or relative died. Upon Archibald Trotter's death, the administrator of his estate, John Newton, who himself owned two slaves, put an ad in the *Spectator*. The largest words leaped out: "FIVE SLAVES." On the left appeared the familiar sign of the male slave with a bundle on a stick—the universal symbol for a "negro," whether a runaway or for sale. On the right, a woodcut of a woman in a skirt. The five included "one woman, one man, two girls and a boy." They bore no names and the relationships among them went unspecified. Only a semicolon separated them from the rest of the estate on sale: "about 30 head of Horses and Colts, amongst them a fine STALLION, 20 head of Cattle, including some good Milch Cows; 15 or 20 head of Hogs; 3 Buggy and Harness; 7 Wagons and Gear, 1 Reaping Machine, Ploughs, Harrows, and various Farming Implements." Newton wanted cash for anything less than \$5 but would provide credit for the more valuable property. The buying and selling of slaves could not be avoided in a slave society.

One slaveholder, Jonathan Coleman, wrote to his brother about a slave resentful of his treatment after an estate division. "Old York has come to me this morning as a runaway and asks for my intercession in some way in his behalf. He complains of having recd much ill treatment at the hands of Mr. Sneed, and appears greatly distressed and dissatisfied. Among other things he says, he is not regarded at your house as one of your negroes but as belonging to my Fathers estate. Whether there is any truth in what he says I am entirely unable to tell." In what had to be a delicate situation, Coleman gave credence to York's complaints. "Permit me to say however as a matter of feeling, that he is an old man, that he was a favorite negro of his old Master, on which account I think as much

laxity ought to be extended to him as the nature of the case will admit barring the question entirely as to whom he may belong, if it is agreeable to you, I am willing that he may stay here upon any terms that may hereafter be considered right and equitable. If you do not approve of this, the negro is here and you can take such steps as you think right in the matter." Coleman treaded lightly, but made it clear that he thought the elderly man had been treated unfairly. "I have advised York to return home, He point[ed]ly refuses to do so. I have written the above very reluctantly because it was a case in which I was really at a loss what to do. I hope you will not think it an offensive interference in your affairs as nothing is farther from my intention. Let me assure you that all I have said in this matter is in a spirit of friendship and in accordance with what I believe would be the wishes of our Father on this subject." York successfully played on his masters' sense of obligation and family responsibility, but such virtues were not universal.

In the slavery of the upper South in the 1850s, a slave's friends and loved ones often lived in several neighborhoods where he or she had lived before. John McCue's mother-in-law wrote to say that "Wilson has run off, and may possibly be about Staunton or somewhere in Augusta. There has been deprecations committed here from time to time, and the overseer found out to day that several fine fat shoats had just been taken and wanted to know something about the disposition of them, and at dinner time told all the servants to go to the stable and he would have an examination; all went but Wilson, and we did not know what had become of him until we found he had broken open the cabin where his clothes were and taken them off." Wilson's mistress commented on the complex psychology and geography of slavery: "You know he is such a sly negro that he may have more in his head than we know of. You can have an eye to it, as he may attempt to go farther than this neighborhood. You know he was once taken up in Augusta and has so many acquaintances that he may be harbored without its being known that he has run away, or perhaps may aim for a free state. It is late and I must send this off to night. All are well and send love to you all. Write often."

Augusta County was home to 586 African Americans who were not enslaved. The census taker considered 208 of those people "black" and 378 "mulatto." The black portion divided almost evenly between men and women, while the mulattoes showed a preponderance of women, 202 to 176. The free blacks of Augusta gathered in the North Subdivision



of the county: 276 mulattoes and 120 blacks lived there. Only 62 mulattoes and 19 blacks settled in the First District, while 40 mulattoes and 66 blacks had homes in Staunton.

Like their counterparts throughout the United States, the free blacks of Augusta County held the jobs of lowest status and lowest pay. The men mostly worked as day laborers, the women as washerwomen and domestics. But some women became seamstresses and some men became coopers, carpenters, shoe makers, and blacksmiths. Despite their hard work, only fourteen of the 586 free black people in Augusta owned a house or land worth at least one hundred dollars. The personal possessions of the great majority were measured in tens of dollars. Many owned nothing.

In defiance of every obstacle, however, some free blacks in Augusta managed to gain both property and respect. In the countryside, William Kenney, a mulatto blacksmith, amassed real estate worth \$1,500, while Peter Engleman, a mulatto farmer, owned a homestead valued at \$4,000. In Staunton lived the most obvious exception of all: Robert Campbell. Campbell, a “black” man of sixty-seven, five feet and three inches tall, had worked for decades as a barber. He had acquired five buildings near the heart of Staunton worth over \$6,000, including his shop near the corner of Beverley Street and New Street, next to Eskridge’s apothecary shop and temperance hall.

As with other free black barbers across the South, Campbell established relationships with prosperous white men. Customers might talk among themselves of business opportunities; some might even let a barber in on small business deals or loan him money so that he could pursue opportunities himself. As “nigger” work, barbering threatened few white men and yet offered steady income in good times and bad.

Robert Campbell died soon after the census taker had recorded his wealth. As a rare indication of white respect for a free black man, the *Vindicator* published an obituary. The single paragraph described the sources and strategies of Campbell’s success. “Robert Campbell (Colored) one of the oldest inhabitants of Staunton—the pioneer barber, by which he acquired considerable property, dropped dead at his residence on Wednesday last,” the article at the bottom of the page briefly noted. The capitalization of “Colored” stood as a subtle if meaningful tribute, as did the acknowledgment of Campbell’s property holding. The final sentence, too, was significant: “‘Uncle Bob’ was much respected and beliked by all

of our citizens.” Cultured white Augusta residents prided themselves on their tolerance and affection for such a man, who somehow managed to build a secure life in the most insecure of places.

Robert Campbell did all he could to pass on a measure of security to his family. Campbell’s thirty-two-year-old son Thomas worked as a barber and so did his twenty-three-year-old son Lewis. At the time of Robert Campbell’s death, Thomas had already acquired \$1,500 worth of property on his own, making him the third most prosperous free black man in the county. Robert left a widow, Maria, and Thomas had married Lara, both women listed as mulatto. Robert Campbell also left three granddaughters: Susan, Margaret, and an infant, Emm.

Even the Campbells, owning more property than nine of ten white Augusta citizens, could not relax. Debates over the place of free blacks swirled in every decade and all across the country. Virginia vacillated on the issue, periodically clamping down. The state contained over 58,000 free blacks in 1860, second only to Maryland and about the same as Pennsylvania, the free state with the largest number of African Americans. The numbers were not growing rapidly in either Augusta or Virginia in the 1850s—a few dozen more free black residents lived in the county in 1860 than in 1850, and about 4,000 more in the state—but free black people troubled the minds of whites.

Free blacks in Augusta had been required since 1810 to register with the county court clerk. Only about a third of the county’s free blacks did so, leading the *Vindicator* to complain of “a number of free negroes about town, who are not registered, and consequently have no business here. It is the duty of the proper authorities to forthwith commence the correction of the serious evil by notifying them to leave, or suffer the penalty imposed by law of remaining.” Those who did register tended to have money or children to shelter. A document from the County Court Clerk might be the only protection they would have from those would kidnap them or their children and sell them into slavery. The clerk, for a twenty-five cents fee, replaced and updated these precious pieces of paper, worn from much handling.

The registration was intended to provide a way for county officials to keep track of the free African Americans in their midst. The law required all former slaves freed by their masters to leave Virginia within twelve months, though counties could determine who could stay and who could leave. Fifty people emancipated in the 1850s came before the Augusta County Court. Thirty-six had been freed at their masters’ death by

will, a practice especially common among female slaveholders. The emancipated divided about equally between males and females. They ranged in age from infancy to seventy years old, from “black” to “bright mulatto.”

Of the fifty freed slaves who petitioned to stay in Virginia after their freedom, Augusta denied thirty-two the right to stay. The great bulk of those denied came in two large groups of slaves freed at their owners’ death. When John S. Black died in 1856, he freed by will eleven adult slaves plus seven of their children. Betsy, with a “light mulatto infant” and two other children were told to leave, as were Judith Easter and her three children (one “bright mulatto”) and Charlotte and her two children. John Black was a prominent man and left his widow, Virginia, with eight other slaves; his sons remained well-to-do farmers after his death. But apparently they were unable or unwilling to persuade the county court to permit this large number of former slaves to stay in Augusta and Virginia. Similarly, when Elizabeth Via died the following year, the seventeen people she freed, ranging in age from two to thirty, from bright to dark, were forced to leave.

Newspapers used the plight of such helpless people to defend slavery. They eagerly reprinted an article from Lynchburg entitled “Departure of Emancipated Negroes—Don’t Want to Leave.” The article told of “a crowd of not less than one thousand negroes assembled on the basin to take leave of the negroes belonging to the estate of the late Mrs. Frances B. Shackleford, of Amherst county, who, in accordance with the will of the deceased, were about to depart by way of the canal, for a free State. The whole number set free was forty-four men women and children, but only thirty-seven left, the balance preferring to remain in servitude in Old Virginia rather than enjoy their freedom elsewhere.” Another way to put this, of course, was that they were being driven away from their families and loved ones and that, despite this, only seven stayed. But the article dwelt on what it wanted to emphasize: “Some of these who did leave, were thrown on the boat by main force, so much opposed were they to leaving, and many expressed their determination of returning to Virginia as soon as an opportunity offered. Many were the well wishes tendered the departing negroes by the crowd assembled, and when the boats started from their wharves, the freed negroes struck up ‘Carry me back to Old Virginny,’ which was joined in by one and all, and in a tone which indicated plainly that if left to their own free will, they would gladly spend the remainder of their days in servitude in the home of their birth.”

To some whites' frustration, most of Augusta's free blacks had been born free and thus could not legally be driven out of the state. The clerk who registered Augusta's free blacks described each person as he or she came before him. The poverty of the free black people could be read in their very stature: poor nutrition meant that most reached no taller than five feet eight inches, and many, especially women, were barely over five feet tall. Their hands, legs, and feet frequently were crooked, maimed, and crippled. The range of skin shades testified to the complex history of interracial sexual relations that had characterized Virginia for many generations. The various white clerks of Augusta strained to find adequate language. While many free blacks seemed simply "dark" or a "bright mulatto," others elicited greater elaboration. They were very dark, dark mulatto, black, yellow, copper, high mulatto, dark brown, fair, freckled, bright, high bright, light, light brown, and not very black. Sometimes the reasons for such a range of colors was made explicit, as in the case of Lange Lambert, who was deemed "of bright mulatto complexion with Roman aquiline nose five feet nine and a half inches high aged about twenty seven years, no marks or scars perceivable and was born free of a white woman in the County of Augusta."

Stories of racial mixing or "amalgamation" fascinated and appalled the editors of the Augusta newspapers. While they seldom mentioned any slave by name unless he or she escaped or died, the papers devoted considerable ink to episodes when the racial divide was breached. The editors of the *Spectator* and the *Vindicator* searched for stories of such events in the North, and found them with some regularity and great glee ("MORE AMALGAMATION.—A negro at Hartford, Pennsylvania, named John Sophia, recently ran away with a white girl name Amelia Pinley, eighteen years of age, and married her. The girl belongs to a respectable family, and the elopement and marriage were brought about by an Abolitionist named Whiting, and his wife.").

White people took a great, unexamined, and deep sense of self from their skin shade. They viewed the African American people in their midst, a people of great diversity in appearance as well as every other human attribute, with a mixture of disdain, distrust, affection, resentment, and need. Augusta whites prided themselves on making distinctions among people of color—loving Old Frederick and respecting Uncle Bob Campbell while ignoring the nameless black people sold on the streets of Staunton.

# Grandma Moses in the Shenandoah Valley

November 1887-December 1905

by Franklin Johnston

*Frank Johnston wears many hats in the local history arena. He has served as an Augusta County Historical Society board member, but more importantly he has been an active and founding member of the Shenandoah Valley Rural Heritage Foundation (SVRHF). That organization has been charged with preserving and restoring two historically significant Valley brick houses, both located in Verona within eyeshot of each other. The more famous of the two, Mt. Airy, is generally known as the Grandma Moses House. The other, somewhat older and more architecturally significant is the Gochenour-Yount House. This paper was drawn from a presentation he gave at the SVRHF's annual membership meeting.*

## Introduction

**I**t was over 30 years after her departure from the Shenandoah Valley before Anna Moses began to paint most of the scenes that would gain her world-wide fame as America's best known primitive artist.<sup>1</sup> Her written memories of the accomplishments she and husband Thomas realized during the first eighteen years of their married life in Augusta County, leave a trail of subtle evidence indicating they departed Augusta County as highly successful farmers, entrepreneurs, and neighbors. This broad based success would have influenced how she later composed and painted her memories of rural life.<sup>2</sup>

Their arrival into Staunton was by accident. Then, within two days after this accidental arrival they changed the major plan they had for their first married years; they cancelled their planned trip to North Carolina where they intended to manage a horse ranch. This newly married pair decided to become farmers in Augusta County, Virginia. They settled in an area where they were total strangers. They possessed little knowledge, if any, about what opportunities might be open to them in this area.

Nonetheless, they settled and quickly prospered, doing so throughout a decade of United States history that saw financial panic, deep economic depression, and foreclosures on family farms were common occurrences. Throughout the two decades from 1880 to 1900, farmers in the

United States were constantly confronted with the trickle down effects of high tariff rates established by Congress to protect the interests of powerful industrialists. These high tariff rates caused European markets to become closed to American products. Farmers had to pay higher prices for farm implements because American industrialists could charge non-competitive prices. Rates established by the railroads were also arbitrarily high. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, the nation's money supply became scarce due to serious draw-downs on the United States gold reserve. Farmers were forced to pay higher interest rates to borrow the money required for growing produce that often had to be sold and shipped for less than were the actual costs of production.

Throughout these years of agricultural uncertainty, and during one of America's worst depressions that started in early 1893,<sup>3</sup> Anna and Thomas Moses prospered down on the farm. How this newly married couple from eastern New York State was able to accomplish a level of economic self-sufficiency as newcomers to the South, is a story not well known. There is a lingering myth that the Moses family was a poor rural family. In fact, Anna Moses was atypical in what she accomplished as a rural entrepreneur at the end of an age when women were expected to stay home, do their chores, raise the kids, and leave matters of business to the men.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Moses appears to have been a liberated male for the time in which he lived. They were a disciplined team, willing partners who recognized and honored the value of the other's contribution in matters of family commerce.<sup>5</sup> One most fortuitous incident that put Anna Moses into a highly profitable business of making and selling butter may have been just a lucky coincidence. It may also have been a calculated plan that was implemented with highly successful results.<sup>6</sup>

As you read through this paper, keep uppermost in your thinking that from March of 1888, through the birth of Hugh in 1901 (approximately thirteen years), Anna Moses went through ten full-term pregnancies. Five children lived into adulthood. Four babies were still-born, a fifth lived about six weeks.<sup>6</sup> There is a small white marker in the Laurel Hill Baptist Church Cemetery, Middle River District, that has the simple epigraphic reminder, "Moses Babies" in memory of those lost children.<sup>7</sup> Remember also, that when this *Yankee couple* stepped from the train at Staunton in November of 1887, there were still remnants of ruin, physical (including desolated properties) and mental, remaining from the Civil War that had formally ended twenty-two-and-one half years previously.<sup>8</sup>



*Anna and Thomas Moses were married in November of 1887, three days before they stepped off the train in Staunton. They were both twenty-seven years old at the time their wedding photographs, above, were taken. (Courtesy of Grandma Moses Properties)*

### **Arrival and first year on the Bell Farm, Swoope, Pastures District November 1887 – November 1888**

Anna and Thomas Moses arrived in Staunton, Saturday, November 12, 1887. They had been married three days and possessed a joint savings of about \$630.<sup>1</sup> They arrived from Strasburg, Virginia, at Staunton's B&O depot.<sup>2</sup> It was located on the west side of Greenville Avenue between present-day Wright's Dairy-Rite and the C&O overpass. A portion of the old railroad cut is still evident on the hillside just to the south of Wright's. It was a Saturday and their trip from Hoosick Falls, New York, had been arduous. They caught the wrong train out of Washington, D.C. and had to stay overnight at Strasburg before getting the next train going south. Boisterous hunters and their families were in Strasburg for the deer season. The inn's environment was not amenable for weary travelers needing a restful night.<sup>3</sup>

When they arrived at Staunton it was dusk, Anna was tired and wanted to rest for a day before continuing their journey the following Monday. The train conductor suggested they try the Virginia Hotel which was located at the corner of New Street and Greenville Avenue,

the spot now occupied by the public parking garage. Anna did not like the appearance of this establishment. She remembered that pigs were running around in the yard of a three-story black brick building. They decided that a rooming house might be more restful.<sup>4</sup> It may also be that they decided to not pay hotel rates, assuming that a smaller rooming house was more appealing to what she always called her Scotch thrift.

As Grandma Moses remembered some sixty three years later, they went *on up the street* (we assume it was New Street), met a young boy *coming down*, and he answered their inquiry about a rooming house by pointing to the *East* and finishing his instructions with “....*and back*.”<sup>5</sup> They followed his instructions. She remembered they first saw a house that was rather new, but beyond this newer structure there was an *antique house*, with formal entrance and fancy door. It was in this older house that they stayed. Grandma Moses remembered that it was owned by a Widow Bell and she was raising five children. Anna and Thomas were ushered into a large entry hall-way and then into a sitting parlor in which there were several ladies.<sup>6</sup> Although more research is needed to verify the exact location of the Bell rooming house, there is sufficient evidence to suggest it may have been Kalorama House, later to



*The Virginia Hotel stood on the northeast corner at the intersection of Greenville Avenue and New Street in Staunton (where the parking garage is today). Anna Moses did not like the hotel's appearance in 1887 and so the newlyweds looked elsewhere for lodging. (From **The Staunton Development Company**)*



become the Staunton Public Library and now the Community Fellowship Church on South Market Street facing the Blackfriars Playhouse.

These newlyweds from "up North" were welcomed. They were so well received that the ladies in the sitting room encouraged them to forego the idea of living in North Carolina. That evening after dinner Thomas went down the street to get some shaving supplies. In a drugstore he was recognized by a store employee name Bell as someone *not from around here* due to his manner of speaking. Thomas and the employee struck up a conversation and after an extended period of time he had agreed to go the next day to see a farm that would be for rent. It was currently occupied by Bell's brother who did not like farming and wanted to return to West Virginia and resume his occupation as school teacher. This drugstore employee named Bell was also a cousin of the above mentioned Widow Bell. He told Thomas, to go no farther south, because the Shenandoah Valley was the paradise of the world.<sup>7</sup>

Due to a cultural miscommunication between Thomas and Mr. Bell as to what was meant by the expression *tomorrow evening*, the farm was not really visited until the following Monday.<sup>8</sup> Grandma Moses remembered that it was a nice farm of about one hundred acres. She and Thomas rented the farm and purchased all the household goods, livestock, twelve old hens, and a cat from the departing residents.<sup>9</sup> The Bell Farm was in the Swoope area, but exactly where this farm was located requires conjecture. The only farms owned by any Bell during this period of time in the entire Pastures District were owned by Francis Bell who then lived in Dublin, Pulaski County, Virginia.<sup>10</sup> He had acquired six adjoining farms over several years through purchase and through family property settlements from the Samuel H. Bell estate. His total acreage owned was over 1,300 acres. Two adjoining tracts, south of what is today Cattleman Road, [Route 876] totalled 126 acres. One of these tracts (sixty acres) was referred to as the Swoope Merchant Mill.<sup>11</sup>

Of all the tracts owned by Francis Bell, this sixty-acre tract had by far the highest tax appraisal for structures, meaning it had the biggest and best structures and probably the best house. On the east boundary of this Merchant Mill tract was an adjoining sixty-six acres that also belonged to Francis Bell. This may have comprised the farm that Grandma Moses called a "pretty little place" of about one hundred acres. Another possibility is the tract referred to as *the dower tract* and *James Bell home place*, both also owned by Francis Bell in 1887. This

tract was across the railroad tracks from the original Samuel H. Bell home farm owned today by Charles Drumheller.<sup>12</sup> None of the other farms owned by Francis Bell had structures that came close to the appraisal that was assessed for the Swoope Mill tract. And, none of the other farms were close to “about 100 acres.”<sup>13</sup>

From November, 1887 to November, 1888 while residing at the Bell Farm, the couple were busy. In that time, Thomas acquired two horses and throughout that winter he accomplished those never ending jobs that must be performed before any quality farming operations can be initiated. Thomas purchased another cow for twenty-seven dollars and forty bushels of seed potatoes to have ready for planting the next April. His ultimate potato harvest was a memorable one. Anna traded eggs with neighbors, her purpose being to use her old laying hens to hatch out a more varied flock than the one for which she had assumed ownership from the previous tenants. Within a few months her flock had grown from the original twelve old hens, for which she paid fifty cents each, to an additional 118 little chicks.<sup>14</sup> Many years later she proclaimed, “If I didn’t start painting, I would have raised chickens.”<sup>15</sup>

In May of 1888, Anna had what she called “some good churnings” of



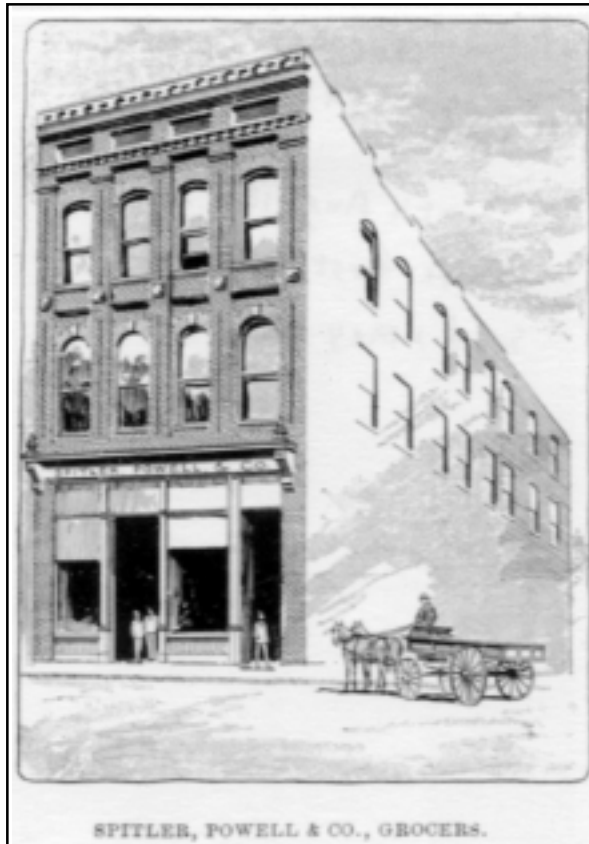
*The sign on the building behind the Augusta County Courthouse in Staunton reads "Stack Spitler & Co. wholesale and retail Grocers and provision Dealers." This building, which still stands, is where Thomas Moses brought Anna's butter in May of 1888. (From **Historical Atlas of Augusta County**)*



butter. Her plan was to trade butter at the store for groceries. For Anna Moses this was not a casual undertaking; she took time to package her product. She wrapped the rolls of butter in her best linen napkins, placed these into new milk pans and then wrapped them in wet burdock leaves for protection from the heat of a mid-spring day.<sup>16</sup>

Anna had been told by her neighbor and friend, a Widow Carter, that a surplus of locally produced butter did exist and it was not of very good quality, selling at most for eight cents per pound.<sup>17</sup> Thomas "went down the road" with Anna's butter to the store of a merchant named "Mr. Spitlar", whom Grandma Moses remembered as being the brother-in-law of a Mr. Ed Eakle.<sup>18</sup> This merchant would have been Jared Wellington Spitler. His wife was Sarah Frances Eakle, the daughter, not sister, of Christian E. Eakle.<sup>19</sup>

*The front view of the Spitler grocery where Thomas traded Anna's freshly churned butter for groceries in May of 1888. J. Wellington Spitler allowed twelve cents per pound in trade. Within three months, the butter commanded fifty cents per pound. (From **The Staunton Development Company**)*



Spitler in May of 1888 was a partner in a wholesale/retail grocery business known either as Stack, Spitler and Co.<sup>20</sup> or Spitler and Powell.<sup>21</sup> The building would not have been in the Swoope area. In fact it was over eight miles away on 10 South Augusta Street, Staunton. (This building, now owned by Doug Smith, still stands at 10 South Augusta Street, facing Planters Bank.)

The choice of this one particular merchant, combined with meticulous product packaging, suggests Mr. and Mrs. Moses did some basic and very wise planning. Thomas would have passed by several stores on his way to Spitler's, including John Waldrop's large store and train depot in Swoope.<sup>22</sup> He would have passed several stores after entering Staunton along what is now West Beverley Street. He took the butter to the establishment of a merchant who represented contacts that would quickly prove to be significant for the financial security of two newcomers from the North. This merchant was partner in a prominent retail and wholesale grocery business. He had married the sister of Benjamin F. Eakle,<sup>23</sup> who had been in the grocery business in Staunton since the late 1870s, and who in 1888 was a partner in Eakle and Bowling, wholesale grocers on Gas House Alley. This is now State Street, the short street between South Coalter Street and Greenville Avenue on that is located the Virginia ABC store.<sup>24</sup> Eakle also owned storehouses on both Spring Street and Stafford Street.<sup>25</sup> Benjamin Eakle later built and owned for a very brief time the Eakleton Hotel on South New Street, Staunton,<sup>26</sup> now the R.R. Smith Center for History and Art.

J. Wellington Spitler had married the niece of a Confederate hero, Major Benjamin F. Eakle, 14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry. Major Eakle's exploits during the war included leading his regiment at Gettysburg, Monacacy, and Cedarville. Wounded three times, he ended his active service at war's end as a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware from which he was released July 24, 1865. His coat hangs in the Museum of the Confederacy.<sup>27</sup> After the war, Major Eakle served for twenty-five years as superintendent of the resort hotel now named the Greenbrier, in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.<sup>28</sup>

Spitler was also a Civil War veteran and had served in the same unit as Major Eakle. He was captured at Greenbrier County, November 26, 1862, sent to Wheeling and then transferred to Camp Chase, Ohio, and later sent to Camp Alton, Illinois. Exchanged April 8, 1863, he was present for duty February 29 through December 31, 1864. He

was paroled at Staunton, March 1, 1865.<sup>29</sup> As mentioned previously, the father-in-law of this merchant was Christian E. Eakle, a prominent farmer/stock-raiser who had been living on a 605-acre dairy farm named Belvidere, on South River just north of Crimora.<sup>30</sup>

Spitler tasted Anna's butter and said he would allow twelve cents per pound in trade for groceries. Thomas took the entire trade in sugar. Spitler took the butter home with him. He wanted "his people to see some Yankee butter." Within a few days he sent word that his *family* liked the Yankee butter and he was offering fifteen cents per pound for more. Within the next month he was offering twenty cents per pound for all the butter Anna could make during that summer.

Sometime during that summer Anna and Thomas were visited by Christian Eakle with an interesting offer: if they moved to and rented his dairy farm, he would pay fifty cents per pound for all the butter they produced for the next year.<sup>31</sup> Within less than three months the market value of Anna's product had increased over 400 percent. The demand was for *all she could produce*, and it was a product for which the local market was supposedly flooded. One of her customers would become the "White Sulphur Springs in West Virginia",<sup>32</sup> which is the resort now named the Greenbrier, and Major Benjamin Franklin Eakle was the superintendent of that institution in 1887. By October, after less than five months into a new venture, Anna had recovered the initial infrastructure costs of her enterprise; the fifty two dollars they had paid for their two cows.<sup>33</sup> Not many entrepreneurs realize this level of success within such a brief span of time.

Long before she became a famous artist in the genre of paints brushed on hardboard, she was equally effective as an artist in the production of good tasting butter. And, she also prospered in the endeavor that required knowing how to manage the fermentation of lactic acid.

### **Belvidere, the Eakle Dairy Farm: Middle River District November 1888 – February 1895**

During Christian Eakle's visit in that summer of 1888, he told them that he owned a 600-acre dairy farm downriver near Fort Defiance.<sup>1</sup> Eakle had purchased at public auction on April 12, 1877, three tracts [totaling 604+ acres] that had been part of Belvidere Farm on the east side of South River, just north of Crimora.<sup>2</sup> However, on January 6, 1888, Christian E. Eakle and his wife Margaret Jane (Weller) Eakle had conveyed their in-

terest in Belvidere to their son, B. Frank Eakle, in exchange for his assuming the debts of Christian Eakle.<sup>3</sup> When Eakle first met Thomas Moses he no longer owned Belvidere. Margaret and Christian Eakle, mainstays for years of the New Hope Methodist Church, had purchased the Pilson farm of twelve acres at New Hope, Middle River District.<sup>4</sup>

The seven years that Anna and Thomas spent at Belvidere Farm were times of exhilaration and heartbreak. Their income was suddenly well above the average earnings of most farmers in the Shenandoah Valley and three of their children were born here. Her personal gross annual income from butter sales may have exceeded \$3,000. This was a high level of income during those years when the average annual wage for industrial workers in the United States ranged from \$380 to \$435.<sup>5</sup> Anna and Thomas had additional income enhancement from the production of their own food. In addition, there were the asset enhancements realized from the rural system of trading with neighbors for a range of common human needs.

Christian Eakle was paying fifty cents per pound. Her personal production quota for the Eakle customers was 160 pounds per week. There would have been some seasonal fluctuations in this output, but Anna Moses was bringing in steady cash from her customer in White Sulphur Springs.<sup>6</sup>



*Belvidere Farm was located about a half mile in the distance from this point on Shaver Lane (Rt. 617) in Augusta County. In older deeds this road was referred to as Blackrock Road. Thomas Moses travelled along this road about 4 a.m. every morning as he took produce to the Staunton market.*

In her autobiography she never mentions the number of workers hired to do the milking, or whether some milk was purchased from surrounding farms. Feed for their cattle would have been grown on the farm. The butter was shipped via the railroad. So, we can only guess at what expenses were incurred to produce the butter.

During their time at Belvidere,

Thomas was trucking produce to the market in Staunton. For six months of the year, he made the trip to Staunton's market every other day. His wagon would be loaded and ready to leave by four o'clock in the morning. "Hard work, but it paid as far as money is concerned," Grandma Moses wrote years later.<sup>7</sup>

Thomas' sister and brother-in-law, Mattie and Charlie Prebble, came down from New York to help with the running of the Belvidere operation. The production of butter alone would have involved some of the most arduous labor on the farm. After the milk was allowed to cool, the butterfat [cream] was run through a separator and allowed to sit in the coolness of the dairy room until the lactic acid aged enough to produce produce tasty butter. Churning had to be accomplished at the time the butterfat was ready, not when the churner was ready. The bacteria growth had to be kept within the correct temperature range, mostly by an experienced guess. Anna Moses knew how to guess.

Anna's first production was with a small churn placed on a table or a box. Having to churn three to four times per day was *too tedious*, so she ordered a barrel churn that made the task easier. "...Then while it was heavy work, it was a pleasure," she wrote in her memoirs.<sup>8</sup> While churning she could gaze down the Shenandoah Valley for many miles,

**The Star Barrel Churn.**

This style of churn is old, tried and reliable, easy to operate and keep clean; it is absolutely impossible for this churn to leak, as the wear can be taken up as simply as one can turn a thumb nut. The fasteners are attached to the outside of the churn, and it will be seen from the cut that the ball and cover fastening is a compound leverage which increases the pressure ten times more than any other make of churn.

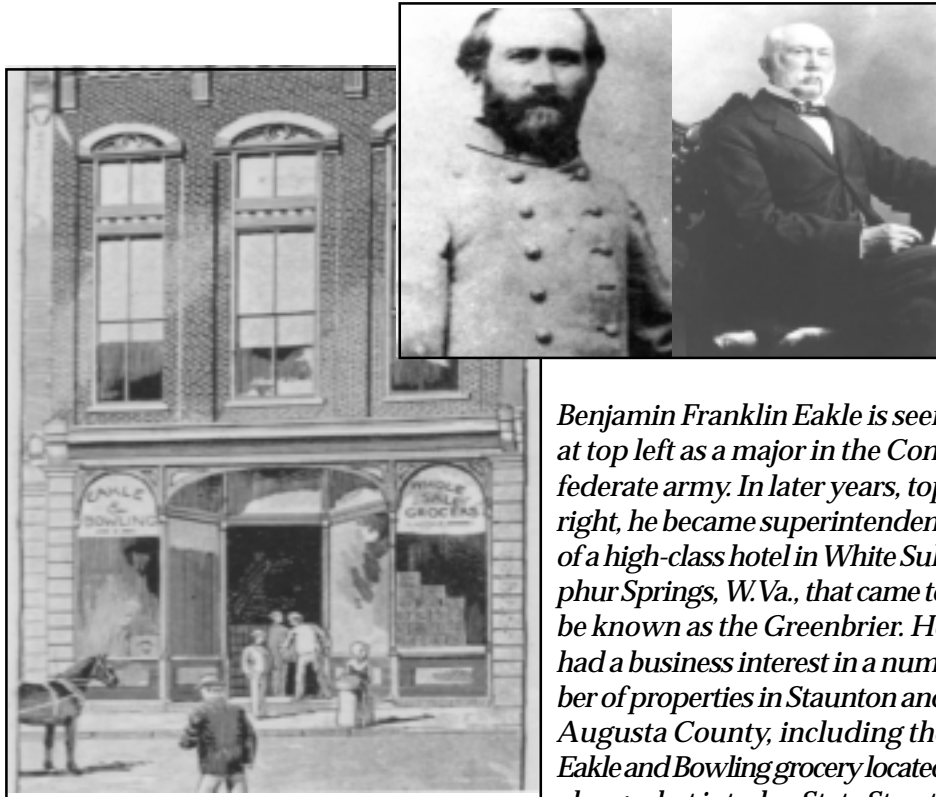


No. 23R9200 Five-gallon Barrel Churn, for 1 to 3 gallons of cream. Weight, 32 lbs.	
Each .....	\$2.40
No. 23R9201 Nine-gallon Barrel Churn, for 1 to 5 gallons of cream. Weight, 46 pounds.	
Each .....	\$2.55
No. 23R9202 Fifteen-gallon Barrel Churn, for 1 to 7 gallons of cream. Weight, 50 lbs.	
Each .....	\$2.70
No. 23R9203 Twenty-gallon Barrel Churn, for 2 to 9 gallons of cream. Weight, 57 lbs.	
Each .....	\$3.00
No. 23R9204 Twenty-five-gallon Barrel Churn, for 2 to 12 gallons of cream. Weight, 77 pounds.	
Each .....	\$3.60
No. 23R9205 Thirty-five-gallon Barrel Churn, for 3 to 16 gallons of cream. Weight, 95 pounds.	
Each .....	\$4.80

admire the beauty, and wish that she could paint a picture of it all.

Even after churning, the the muscle work continued. Clumps and lumps of butter would be on top of the milk and smaller particles would be dispersed throughout the milk. She would first collect the various sized butter particles into what would have probably been a *butter worker*. There were different designs of butter workers, but the purpose of all the designs was to squeeze out any milk that remained in the particles of butter. A cylinder would be rolled over the butter, or there would be a paddle arrangement that forced the butter against a barrier. The liquid removed would be diverted into some container to be used for livestock feed or perhaps some would be added back into the buttermilk that remained in the churn after the butter particles were removed. Whatever design of butter press she had, Anna's muscles were the source of force to squeeze the butter.<sup>9</sup>

If she were producing at least twenty-six pounds of butter per day to meet the needs of her Eakle market, plus more pounds on some days to meet the needs of her own household not to mention the



*Benjamin Franklin Eakle is seen at top left as a major in the Confederate army. In later years, top right, he became superintendent of a high-class hotel in White Sulphur Springs, W.Va., that came to be known as the Greenbrier. He had a business interest in a number of properties in Staunton and Augusta County, including the Eakle and Bowling grocery located along what is today State Street.*



Staunton market, she would have been processing up to ten pounds of butter after each churning and she would have churned up to three times a day, six days per week. As Grandma Moses, she never wrote in detail about how hard and never-ending would have been the labor in meeting the roles of farmwife and butter entrepreneur. She was helping in the management of a 600-acre farm on which there would have been Thomas' truck garden, plus the family garden, plus wheat, oats, rye, and corn.<sup>10</sup> During the Belvidere residency of six years, three months, she went through at least five full term pregnancies. There would have been the care required for usual illnesses of the three children who were born and survived there. There would have been the longing for those newborn babies that died.

When the Moses family had to leave Belvidere, Anna discontinued the commercial production of butter. She did not express regret in any of her writings about giving up an endeavor that certainly brought in a comfortable amount of hard money in times when this was a significant accomplishment for a farm wife.

Three of Moses children were born during the Belvidere residency; Winona, Loyd, and Forrest. Despite the drudgery, the financial successes realized during the Belvidere years would have provided comfort for Anna and Thomas, two people who for their time had married rather late in life. Anna had a happy and comfortable childhood but left home at the age of twelve to become a "hired girl"<sup>11</sup> -- a live-in companion for the elderly, until she was twenty-seven years of age. This leaving went against her father's wishes, and her mother thought she would tire of the experience and soon return home. This occupation allowed her to assume adult roles at a very young age and she enjoyed meeting the challenges that came with such responsibilities. Her pride drove her to consistently set higher standards and she found contentment with herself when she met her ever increasing standards. Her employers became more like nurturing parents, not just her masters. Until their marriage, Thomas had always worked for other farmers, mostly on dairy farms. He and Anna met when they worked at the same farm.<sup>12</sup>

Thomas and Anna were forced to move during February of 1895, when the farm was sold at public auction for \$9,000 . Whether or not they were interested in buying Belvidere we do not know. B. Frank Eakle had used the farm as collateral to secure a loan in 1894. The financial panic of 1893 and the resulting deep depression caused Eakle to also lose the Eakleton Hotel he had built in 1893-4. It was foreclosed

upon by the Staunton Perpetual and Loan Co. and sold to Ella F. and Charles E. Daughtery of Norfolk, on March 13, 1895, for \$21,000.<sup>13</sup> The business that was formerly Spitler, Powell and Co. had been renamed the Staunton Grocery Company, partnered by B.F. Eakle, J.W. Spitler, and J.H. Powell. It was declared *failed at business*. All goods and equipment belonging to the company, were sold by court order.<sup>14</sup>

J.W. Spitler had used his home at 208 North Augusta Street (demolished during Staunton's brief flirtation with urban renewal in the 1960s) to secure a loan of \$2,500 from Major Benjamin F. Eakle. He defaulted on this loan and the property was sold at public auction for \$1,800, being purchased by Major Eakle. The major then conveyed the property to his niece, Sarah Frances (Eakle) Spitler and her daughter Helena.<sup>15</sup> Jared Wellington Spitler, his wife Sarah, Benjamin Franklin Eakle (the grocer, not the major) and his wife Fannie are all buried in adjoining graves in Thornrose Cemetery. In addition to the many troubles that beset B. Frank Eakle in the 1890s, the death of his wife was added. Fannie H. Eakle died March 4, 1891, of heart failure, age thirty-nine years.



*The 1880 management group of the Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., included owner, W.A. Stuart, seated at the far left. Stuart was the son of Alexander H.H. Stuart of Staunton. Major Benjamin Franklin Eakle is seated in the middle with his hat in his lap. (From **The History of the Greenbrier** by Robert S. Conte)*

Grandma Moses wrote that their move from Belvidere was caused by the death of Christian E. "Ed" Eakle and his family had to sell the farm.<sup>16</sup> She wrote her autobiography after becoming an international personality and would have known that this book would be read by perhaps millions of people throughout the world.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps she believed that the financial difficulties encountered by the Eakles and Spitlers need not be divulged to the general public. These businessmen were her friends; they had sponsored her product that became a marketing success. A Victorian lady would protect the dignity of friends, so she told the story a little differently from what really happened. That is how Grandma Moses painted her pictures, how she wanted to see things, not always how things really were.

In all of the nine paintings Grandma Moses completed of Belvidere Farm, she spelled the name *Belvedere*. All were composed by using an elevated bird's eye view, looking toward the west across South River and gazing down upon the farm and the surrounding countryside. Belvidere Farm is now a community divided into several tracts of land at the end of Belvidere Road [Route 616] west off U.S. Route 342 about two miles north of Crimora.<sup>18</sup> The house is gone.

### **The Dudley Farm, Middle River District February 1895-January 1901**

The move from Belvidere was surely a trying experience. It occurred in the dead of winter when there would be no cash coming in from sales of either butter or of farm produce. The previous June a pregnancy had ended in a stillbirth and Anna was two months pregnant with the fourth of her babies who would live into adulthood, her namesake, Anna.<sup>1</sup>



*A small marker with the simple inscription "Moses Babies" stands apart from the others at the Laurel Hill Baptist Church in the Middle River District of Augusta County. The church stands on Old Laurel Hill Road, probably the route that the Moses family travelled between Belvidere Farm and Staunton.*

They were starting all over again. Although this change was accomplished with success during a major economic depression, Grandma Moses never mentioned what was happening in the country. Six hundred forty two of the nation's banks had closed, one fourth of heavy industry had shut down, 22,500 miles of railroads were in receivership, including a portion of the track Anna and Thomas rode in November of 1887. The nation's gold reserve had fallen to sixty million dollars and there were fears of federal bankruptcy.<sup>2</sup>

The lease that Thomas and Anna signed with Emma Dudley on February 19, 1895, committed them to pay \$700 cash in advance.<sup>3</sup> This amount was approximately twice the average annual U.S. wage at that time. They had the right to renew the lease at the end of each year, by paying the same amount, in advance. Emma Dudley, widow of Edward T. Dudley and mother of four children, was an experienced decision maker in managing the properties she owned. She and Anna Moses were kindred spirits in looking for and exploiting opportunities. Mrs. Dudley had been residing at what is today 19 South Coalter Street, Staunton.<sup>4</sup>

The Dudley Farm, called Glen Home Farm, comprised 374 acres on Middle River. It was not set up for the large scale production of butter, so Anna and Thomas dropped this endeavor. Instead, Thomas started a milk route. Each day Anna washed sixty to one hundred bottles, covered the tops with paper, then put the bottles into boxes.<sup>5</sup> Life at this farm lying along the Middle River involved the toil common to earning a livelihood on a farm in the late 1800s, but Anna was freed from the arbitrary demands imposed by buttermaking: butterfat aging, then churning, pressing, packaging, and shipping a highly perishable product. The Dudley farmhouse still stands, much changed, on what is now Windswept Road [Route 780] about two miles from Verona. This farm is featured in two of Grandma Moses' better known paintings, including *Apple Butter Making*. There is a photograph of the Moses family, and perhaps Charlie and Mattie Prebble, with other employees, posing on the front lawn of the Dudley House.<sup>6</sup>

In her autobiography Grandma Moses tells of seeing a ghost one afternoon, while in an upstairs bedroom and awaking from a nap. She saw an old man, with a long nose, grey hair, spectacles, and black frock coat, standing at a desk turning pages of a large book. She asked, "Who are you, what are you doing here?" and he disappeared when there were sounds of Thomas entering the downstairs area. One of the neighbors, Mr. Keister, told her that would have been the Old Captain, who

This Deed, made this 19 day of February 1895, between D.S. Moses, Agent for Anna Mary Moses, D.S. Moses, in his own right, and Anna Mary Moses in her own right, parties of the first part, and Emma L. Dudley party of the second part: Whereas, on the 1st day of September 1894, the said D.S. Moses Agent for the said Anna Mary Moses entered into a written agreement with the said Emma L. Dudley whereby the said Moses, Agent leased, for a period of one year from the date thereof, with the privilege of three years more, the farm belonging to the said Emma L. Dudley on Middle River in Augusta County containing 374 Acres, at the price of \$700.00 per annum to be paid on or before the fourth day of August, at the expiration of each year, and each succeeding year in the event of the continuance of said lease after the expiration of the first year. And Whereas it is the desire of the parties of the first part to secure the said Emma L. Dudley in the payment of her said rent of \$700.00 by anticipating the payment thereof: Now Therefore, Know All Men by these presents that for the said D.S. Moses Agent for Anna Mary Moses, D.S. Moses, in his own right, and the said Anna Mary Moses, in her own right, in consideration of the price and in the further consideration of the sum of \$700.00 due by the said parties of the first part to the party of the second part, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said parties of the first part do hereby grant, bargain sell, and convey with general warranty of title unto the said Emma L. Dudley all of their interest, right and title to all of the wheat and barley crop now and now growing on the said farm of 374 A. belonging to the said Emma L. Dudley said wheat crop consisting of about 67 A. and also, one half interest in 40 A. cultivated by Isaac Reister and said crop of barley consisting of about 15 Acres. Witness the following Signatures and Seals this 19 day of February 1895.

D.S. Moses Agt for A.M. Moses  
D.S. Moses  
Anna Mary Moses.

Virginia: County of Augusta to wit:

I, Jas. St. Leraford, a Justice of the Peace, and for the County and State aforesaid do hereby certify that D.S. Moses Agent for Anna Mary Moses, D.S. Moses, in his own right, and Anna Mary Moses whose names are signed to the writing above, bearing date the 19 day of Feb. 1895 have acknowledged the same before me in my County aforesaid.

Given under my hand this 21st day of Feb. 1895.

Jas. St. Leraford J.P.

Virginia: In the Clerk's Office of Augusta County, this 21st day of Feb. 1895.

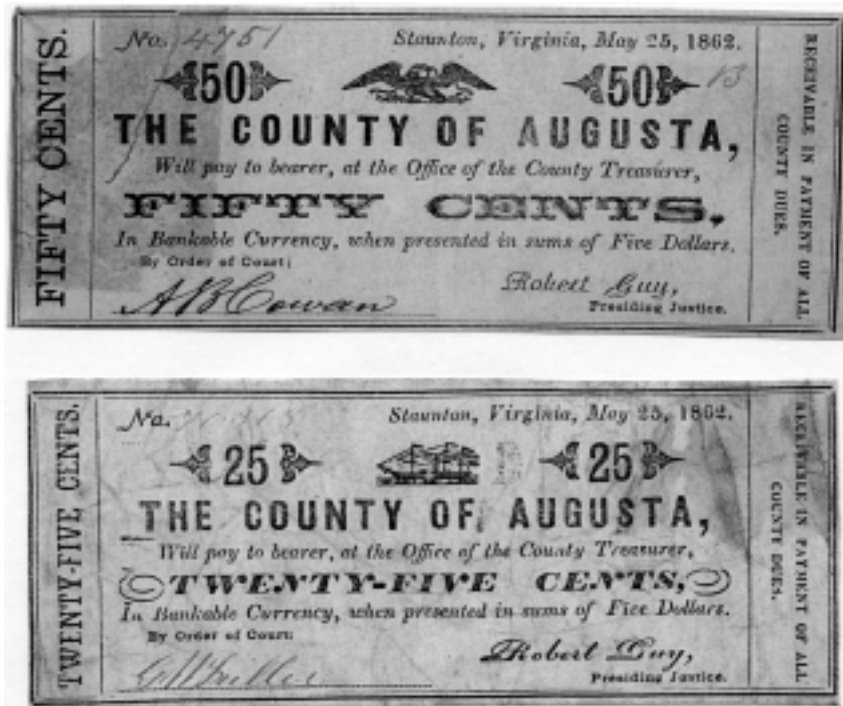
The foregoing deed from D.S. Moses Agent Anna Mary Moses to Emma L. Dudley

The Moses family had to leave Belvidere Farm when it was sold at public auction in February of 1895. In the dead of winter during one of the worst economic depressions to ever occur in the United States, Anna and Thomas Moses managed to pay \$700 in advance rent for this 374-acre farm known as the Dudley Farm located on Middle River. (Augusta County Courthouse)

had built the house. "...he must have come back for some of the evil deeds he did."<sup>7</sup>

The "Old Captain" was probably Captain Robert Guy who purchased the Glen Home Farm of approximately 500 acres from William R. and Lucy A.M. Stuart for \$11,000 on May 27, 1839.<sup>8</sup> In 1823 he had been commissioned captain of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, Seventh Brigade, Third Division, Virginia Militia.<sup>9</sup> Born in Ireland, he became a merchant in what became Waynesboro, and he was one of the signers of a petition that became the first act for incorporation of Waynesboro.<sup>10</sup> He had been a justice of the peace.<sup>11</sup> On September 2, 1843, Captain Guy took the Pledge of Total Abstinence at the New Hope Methodist Church, New Hope, along with several others, including Christian E. Eakle, previous owner of Belvidere Farm.<sup>12</sup>

The winds of war were blowing with certainty in late 1860 and on November 26, 1860, Captain Guy was one of thirteen men appointed to a committee that drew up resolutions for the people of Augusta to adopt and send a petition to the Virginia state legislature to vote against se-



Two Augusta County fifty-cent notes issued during the Civil War had the type-set signature of Presiding Justice Robert Guy.

cession from the Union.<sup>13</sup> After the firing on Fort Sumter and the subsequent call by President Abraham Lincoln for 60,000 volunteers to man the Union Army, Augusta County and the State of Virginia voted overwhelmingly for secession. During the ensuing war, Augusta County issued its own currency. Two currency notes with relative values of twenty five and fifty cents, issued by Augusta County in 1862 survive. The signature of Presiding Justice is that of Robert Guy.

Guy died in 1862. His estate settlement required some years due to numerous debts owed by the estate. At times, the estate administrator would advance his personal funds to cover payment of debts that came due.<sup>14</sup> These debts may have resulted from commitments made for the war effort. His heirs sold the farm [then containing 372 acres] on June 18, 1868, to Margaret and N.E. Lyman for \$10,000.<sup>15</sup> For a ghost, Guy left quite a trail of paper.

Current owners of what was the Dudley Farm, say that they know of at least two reappearances of the Old Captain. Perhaps he is looking for some of those twenty-five and fifty-cent notes. During the war, a person had to have at least five of each before they could be cashed in.

Despite the appearance of the Old Captain, the Moses continued to live at Glen Farm. In 1896 Anna entered her canned fruit, cherries and tomatoes at the Baldwin-Augusta Fair held in Gypsy Hill Park. She won first prizes. She saw her first automobile there, owned by a "Mr. Hausburger."<sup>16</sup> One of her paintings, *The First Automobile* was based upon her memory of this event. The owner of this vehicle may have been A.E. Harnsberger, owner of the Racket Store that in 1906 was located on East Main [Beverley] Street, Staunton.<sup>17</sup>

## **Mount Airy, Rolla (now Verona), Middle River District, January 1901-September 1902**

Grandma Moses wrote in *My Life's History* that Mrs. Dudley's children had come back from school and she wanted to return to the farm.<sup>1</sup> The Dudleys had been living at what is now 19 South Coalter Street, Staunton.<sup>2</sup> For the second time, Anna and Thomas had to move in the dead of winter.

The James Crawford Farm, also called the Daingerfield Farm, named Mount Airy by someone still to be identified, contained 180 acres and was on the ridge that overlooks from the south what is today the Augusta County Government Complex. Anna and Thomas paid \$6,000 for this, the first farm they owned.<sup>3</sup> The house, built c.1830

by James Crawford, still stands on the ridge and can be viewed from the government complex parking lot [where the Farmers' Market is held]. From the parking lot, look toward the west and Mount Airy can be seen surrounded by trees. The open fields still exist as they were during the time of the Moses family occupancy. The house is now being restored by Shenandoah Valley Rural Heritage Foundation to appear as it would have during the late nineteenth century.

During their brief time at Mount Airy there were a few significant events for the Moses family. Hugh Worthington Moses, the last Moses child, was born there. His namesake was Hugh Worthington, brother to one of the ladies who taught Sunday School at a small Episcopal chapel which occupied the site along Rt. 11 in Verona where today stands the Shenandoah Baptist Church.<sup>4</sup> The Moses family was baptized in this small chapel by the Reverend Robert Jett.<sup>5</sup> Eventually the chapel became known as the Emmanuel Episcopal Chapel. It was torn down in the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> This small frame chapel had been built for the British-born priest, Alfred Anson, by his mother Lady Caroline Maria Venables-Vernon Anson. The family responsible for its existence was part of English aristocracy. Lady Anson was a lady in waiting to Queen Victoria. Her father was the Fifth Baron Anson.<sup>6</sup> Alfred's father, the Rev. Frederick Anson, was Canon of Windsor, Queen Victoria's own cleric. His Uncle George was Prince Albert's treasurer and private secretary. Upon his early death, the Queen wrote: '...he was such an old and valued friend...To see my poor Albert's deep distress made me wretched, for he loved and valued Anson who was almost the only intimate friend he had in this country, and he mourns for him as for a brother.'<sup>8</sup>

Alfred Anson, graduate of Oxford University, Episcopal priest, owner of a certificate from a one-year attendance at an agricultural institute and grandson of one of England's wealthiest men, came to Augusta County about 1872 to become a farmer. After a few years in agriculture, he concentrated on the ministry, moved to Martinsville, Virginia, and eventually retired there.<sup>9</sup> While in Augusta County, he lived for approximately twenty years in the home he named The Grange.<sup>10</sup> This house still stands about two hundred yards across the railroad tracks behind the Dairy Queen in Verona and within eyesight of Mount Airy. In years to come, The Shenandoah Valley Rural Heritage Foundation will restore this structure, now known as the Gochenour-Yount house for early occupants, as well as Mount Airy. The Anson family story is equal in historical signifi-



cance to the Grandma Moses saga. The Ansons had departed Augusta County by 1896 while the Moses family still lived at the Dudley place, so they were never next door neighbors. The Anson family could, perhaps, have been users of Thomas' milk, packaged by Anna.

The Moses family's stay in Verona was not long. Anna Moses thought the Mount Airy house was too remote from school. Thomas was becoming increasingly homesick for Hoosick Falls, New York. After almost fifteen years in the Shenandoah Valley the Moses team decided it was time to move back to the North.<sup>11</sup> In September of 1902, Anna and Thomas sold the Mount Airy farm was in two parcels. The house and 125 acres were sold to Callie and Shuey Hoover for \$5,625 and a remaining parcel of 52 acres was sold to Maxie Myers for \$1,469.31.<sup>12</sup> After a residency of only eighteen months, this entrepreneurial team realized a profit of \$1094.31, an eighteen percent return on their money. They paid off all the notes owed to Daingerfields, Alfriends, DeBells, and Greers remaining from the purchase of Mount Airy. They had already sold most of their belongings [but not the milk cow] and were ready to go back to New York.

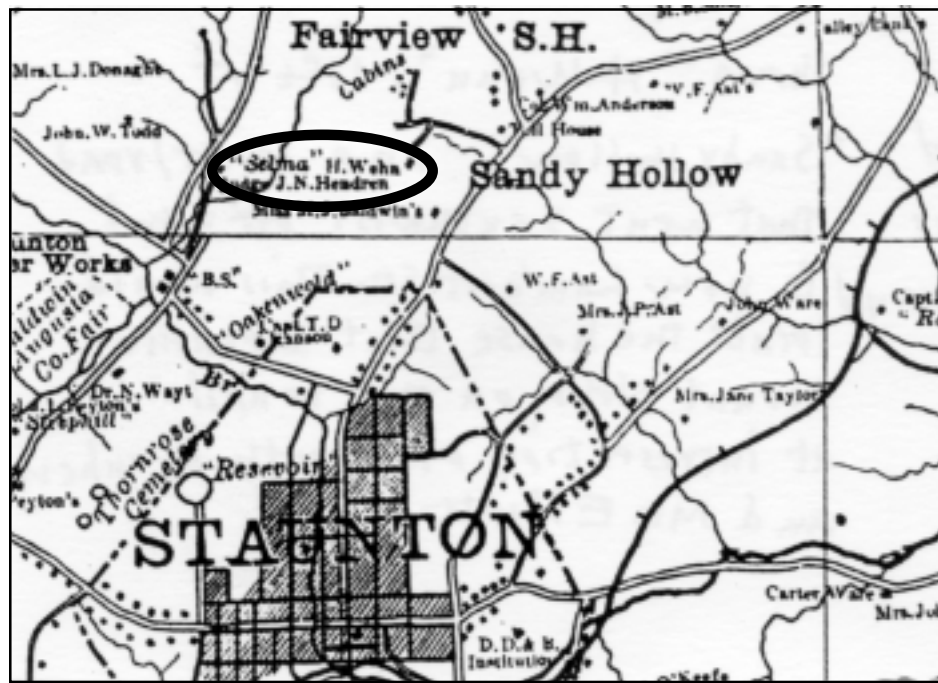
Anna wanted first to make suitable clothes for her five little rebels before taking them back into a New England winter. Thomas said they would get some rooms in Staunton and she could make all the clothes she wanted to. But no rooms were available, not even with the help of two real estate agents.<sup>13</sup> So, they bought a small farm of about twenty acres on the northeast fringe of Staunton.

### **The twenty-acre farm, Mount Nebo, Beverley Manor District September 1902-December 1905**

Anna and Thomas purchased this farm from J.E. and L.C. Smith for \$2,300, but it was known as the Henry Wehn Farm.<sup>1</sup> The location of this farm was in an area that is part of present-day Staunton. It is now that subdivision lying on both sides of Lambert Street just past Fairview Cemetery. There is a surveyor's plat, Staunton City Deed Book 73 Page 458 that shows division of the farm when it was sold at public auction in December 31, 1952. This plat does not show location of the Mount Nebo house which was on one of the knolls. A Mr. Greer, a postal worker staying with the Moses family, gave the farm its name. He called it *Mount Nebo, the place from which Moses departed*.<sup>2</sup> In 1952 the house was destroyed to make way for the subdivision. A small nineteenth-century farm, that could have become an international attraction, became a twentieth-century housing development.<sup>3</sup>

During their thirty-eight months at Mount Nebo, Thomas had little to do on this small farm. He agreed to manage a nearby farm for fifty dollars per month.<sup>4</sup> This work was not really a full-time job, so the annual wage of \$600 would have been excellent pay for a part-time job as farmer in the years 1902-5. Meanwhile, his partner, Anna, founded a new business that flourished: potato chips. Without telling other family members about her new venture, one evening while the children were doing their schoolwork, she peeled three large potatoes and placed them in water. Next morning she sliced them as fine as she could, fried them in lard until she had a pound, added some salt and bagged them in a paper "poke." Later that day she sent the kids down the street after lunch with the pound of chips to what she called her *grocer man*. That evening the grocer told Loyd that he would allow twenty-five cents per pound in trade for the chips, and he wanted another two pounds in the morning.<sup>5</sup>

The Moses children attended Staunton Academy,<sup>6</sup> located on New and Academy Streets, and just a short walk to the corner of Augusta and



*The 1885 Historical Atlas of Augusta County shows a residence occupied by H. Wehn and located just to the left of Sandy Hollow. This twenty-acre farm, which came to be called Mount Nebo, was the last home of the Moses family before they returned to New York. Today the land is in the city of Staunton. The house no longer stands.*

Main (Beverly) Streets. In her autobiography Grandma Moses did not say who was the merchant that agreed to buy her potato chips. But, the endeavor had a familiar pattern of growth, and it soon duplicated the same marketing area as did the butter sales.<sup>7</sup> Spitler and Eakle were back in business at Augusta and Main Streets.<sup>8</sup> This would have been a short walk of about three blocks for Loyd to make from the school.

Loyd next came home with an order of five pounds of the new marvel. Her price was raised to thirty cents per pound and she was soon up to ten pounds per week. Thomas had to build her a potato slicer.<sup>9</sup> The potato chip business finally grew so that barrels were being shipped to "White Sulphur Springs and over to Charlottesville." As she wrote years later, "...that was the potato chip business. Always wanted to be independent, I couldn't bear the thought of sitting down and Thomas handing out the money - just like climbing the house in my childhood days, I wanted to be the big toad."<sup>10</sup>

In late 1905 Thomas decided that it was definitely time to move back to the land of their origins, the area of Washington County, New York, very close to the state line of Vermont and the city of Bennington. Anna's parents had visited during the fall of 1905. Anna's brother Lester had also visited. The homesickness that afflicted Thomas was beyond being contained. He had been back to Hoosick Falls two or three times. Anna had never returned for visits to the land of her origins and had no great desire to do so.<sup>11</sup> Anna's mother said there were two farms available near Eagle Bridge, New York. Anna's brother and Thomas' brother went to see the places. They liked one of them so much they initiated some bargaining for it. If Anna and Thomas wanted this farm, they had to move fast. So, they prepared to return to New York State.<sup>12</sup>

On December 7, 1905, Mount Nebo farm was used to secure a loan of \$2,000, the note being payable to C.M. Marquis.<sup>13</sup> They purchased the New York farm and had to depart in haste. A railroad car was rented for the transportation of their household goods. There was one cow [They had to keep their infrastructure!], a coop of chickens, several kinds of farm produce, and one small dog named Brownie. Thomas and his two oldest sons, Loyd and Forrest, rode and slept in the car, using a kerosene heater and had a mattress for comfort and relaxation. This was not really in accordance with the railroad's regulations, but Thomas and sons did finally get to the station at Eagle Bridge, two days after Anna, Winona, Anna, and Hugh had arrived after making the trip in the comfort of a passenger car.<sup>14</sup>

Their new farm was also named Mount Nebo, in honor of their last home in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>15</sup> Grandma Moses completed several paintings of Mount Nebo, but these were all of the Eagle Bridge farm. Her one painting of the Augusta County Mount Nebo is one of her most famous paintings, *Moving Day on the Farm*. This painting is the cover for the publication, *Grandma Moses in the 21st Century*. Jane Kallir was the lead creator of this book. It should be read anyone who is interested in expanding his or her knowledge about the art of Grandma Moses and also to acquire insights as to the international significance of this singular personality.<sup>16</sup>

The Staunton Mount Nebo did not sell until the following September 26, 1906. G.C. Spitzer of Rockingham County purchased it for \$2,600. He assumed the \$2,000 balance still owed on the note held by Mrs. Marquis and paid Anna and Thomas \$600.<sup>17</sup> So, Anna and Thomas made a small profit on this deal, their last land transaction in Augusta County. Perhaps it was enough of a gain finally to buy the kids clothing fit for a New England winter.

It was approximately forty years after leaving Augusta County before Anna Mary Robertson Moses became a world celebrity in the 1940s and 1950s. She was recognized for being someone more than a painter. Before her death in 1961, aged 101, she became an icon of traditional, stable values during highly uncertain times enveloped by both hot and cold wars. Her picture was featured on the covers of *Life*, *Time*, and other prominent publications.

In 1949 she received the Women's National Press Award for her outstanding contribution to the arts for the year 1948. Seven hundred guests attended the official dinner including the Supreme Court Justices, members of the President's cabinet, and members of the diplomatic corps. One of the other award winners was Eleanor Roosevelt. When Grandma Moses entered the hall, being eleven years short of one hundred years and with at most seven years of formal education in rural schools, she received a standing ovation. As President Harry S. Truman was handing her the award he inscribed and signed it, "Congratulations & continued success." Although the five other award winners were famous in their respective fields, Grandma Moses was the most popular with the press because she displayed "genuine simplicity." During the dinner she had a lively conversation with President and Mrs. Truman. "I think he likes cows." she confided to others of the president.<sup>18</sup> She remembered that

“...I could not think but that he was one of my own boys.”<sup>19</sup> The president was so charmed and impressed by her that he asked to be allowed to attend tea that had been arranged next day at the White House for all six award recipients.

Her presidential and vice-presidential meetings extended beyond that single dinner. She painted two pictures of President Dwight Eisenhower’s farm at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and one of these was presented to him in a surprise meeting of the cabinet to honor his birthday. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was master of ceremonies. He was highly amused at the artistic interpretations she put into the painting. Ironically, she was not correct in how she painted the types of cows he had at the farm.<sup>20</sup> September 7, 1960, her one hundredth birthday, was declared Grandma Moses Day in the state of New York by Governor Nelson Rockefeller.<sup>21</sup>

Her appearance for an interview in 1955 with Edward R. Murrow on the highly acclaimed CBS television show, *See It Now*, showed how a seemingly unassuming ninety-five-year-old farm wife could capture the moment before a national television audience. She changed the script of the show and started interviewing Murrow, finally getting him to paint a picture as they talked.<sup>22</sup>

Her painting, *The Fourth of July*, still hanging in the White House, was used by the U.S. Postal Service on the commemorative stamp which was the center piece for initiating Senior Citizens Month.<sup>23</sup> This artist, this central figure who was among one the world’s biggest art marketing phenomena, did not start painting with serious intent until she was in her late seventies. Before her death on December 13, 1961, she had completed over 1,600 paintings, had solo exhibitions in several European countries, yet she never had a lesson in art.<sup>24</sup>

Thomas had died in 1927 and family members over the next few years encouraged her to take up painting because of the talent she was showing in the creation of worsted pictures.<sup>25</sup> Her unique style became well known throughout the world. Many artists today are influenced by the way Grandma Moses composed her paintings. Her paintings were started only after she had found a frame, and then she created a painting that would fit into that frame. Her canvas was hard-board [masonite] and her first paints were left-over household paints.<sup>26</sup>

The significant discovery of her work occurred during Easter week in 1938 by an engineer from New York City. Lewis Caldor, in Hoosick

Falls, New York, on business, walked by the Thomas' drugstore and happened to see four of Anna Moses' paintings that were being displayed in the store window. He bought all on display and then went to the farm to see if there were more. Anna's daughter-in-law, Dorothy [Hugh's wife], told him there were at least ten more, but he would have to come back when Mrs. Moses was home.

Anna came home that evening, received the news of impending sales, and then fell into worrying because she had only nine paintings, not the promised ten. So, she got her saw and cut the largest of her paintings in two.<sup>27</sup> This painting happened to be one of those based upon her memories of the Shenandoah Valley. In two parts it became *Shenandoah Valley, (1861 News of the Battle)* and *Shenandoah Valley, South Branch*. The paintings were of her beloved Shenandoah Valley. It was not her desire to leave the Valley. As she wrote more than forty years after leaving, "...give me the Shenandoah Valley every time."<sup>28</sup> And, another time she wrote about the five babies that died: "But they had to have graves just the same – five little graves in that beautiful Shenandoah Valley."<sup>29</sup>

### **A Summary**

Art is an impression. Grandma Moses' application of paint to surfaces depicts scenes that were implanted into the cells of her personal memory bank. Her scenes represent impressions that *she* wanted to remember in paint and share with others. Perhaps she wanted to share with those of us who would look at her paintings, that there are simple human activities which will establish and maintain a social system that encourages the release of one of the more desirable human traits: find contentment through positive acceptances of the beauty to be found in the every day things and activities that surround us.

A realistic appraisal of what Anna Moses really accomplished can be lost in focusing only upon her life after she was famous. She left school after the sixth grade at age of twelve to become a live-in companion to an elderly couple. This was against her father's wishes, and her mother expected she would tire of this work and return home within a short time.<sup>1</sup> This type of work became her life for the next fifteen years until she and Thomas Moses were married in 1887.

Her daily physical and mental activities were focused upon being proficient in the repetitious routines required for meeting the immediate needs of senior citizens. From this environment there developed a mind that was not a victim of fateful limitations. What devel-

oped into the persona that came to be called Grandma Moses was a mind that looked for opportunities to accomplish routine activities at continuing higher levels of excellence. Work for Anna Moses, during all her years on Earth, was an opportunity for exploration of and mastering new skills, plus taking time to perfect old ones.

Before her death in 1961, she had become not just a famous artist but also a monument in the world of marketing. Her paintings were printed on Hallmark Cards and sold in the millions. A 1950 documentary of her life narrated by Archibald McLeish was nominated for the Academy Award. In 1952 Lillian Gish portrayed the life of Grandma Moses in a televised dramatization written by David Shaw.<sup>2</sup>

A licensing arrangement allowed for sales of a wide range of products that featured both the name and work of Grandma Moses. Her fame became so great that many in the world of *artiste narcissasstus* became critical of her work.<sup>3</sup> The United States Information Agency, in 1950, sponsored an exhibition of her paintings through six European cities. There were more honors bestowed:<sup>4</sup> - The National Press Club declared her to be one of the five most newsworthy women in 1950; National Association of House Dress Manufacturers gave her an award, 1951 Woman of the Year; *Mademoiselle*, "Young Woman of the Year" for 1948 [in her eighty-eighth year]; Moore College of Art, the nation's first school of design, awarded her an honorary doctorate in 1951.

The life of Anna Mary Robertson Moses was a sequence of serendipitous coincidences that grew out of the willingness to respond with Yes at the most opportune times.

What if she and Thomas had climbed onto the correct train bound for North Carolina on that November day in 1887?

What if they had decided to not leave the train in Staunton, or selected to stay at some place other than the Bell rooming house?

What if they had taken the butter to a merchant other than Jared Wellington Spitler?

What if they had said no to Christian Eakle and not moved to Belvidere?

What if Lewis Caldor had been looking at something in that drug-store display window other than the paintings?

If any one of the above incidents had occurred, the life of Anna Moses would most likely have been a very different story "Fame is accidental, wealth is dissipated, only character endures." *Anonymous*

I have written my life in small sketches, a little today, a little yesterday, as I thought of it, as I remembered all the things from childhood on through the years, good ones and unpleasant ones, that is how they come, and that is how we have to take them. I look back on my life like a good day's work, it was done and I feel satisfied with it. I was happy and contented, I knew nothing better and made the best out of what life offered.

And life is what we make it, always has been, always will be.

### **Grandma Moses, Page 140, *My Life's History***

### **Endnotes**

Abbreviations assigned to certain referenced resources:

*MLH* Grandma Moses (Anna Marie Robertson Moses), *My Life's History* Edited by Otto Kallir (Harper and Brothers, copyright, 1947, 1948, by Galerie St. Etienne).

*ACDB* Augusta County Deed Book, Augusta County Court House, Office of County Clerk, Staunton, Virginia

*ACWB* Augusta Will Book

*ACBR* Augusta County Birth Register

*ACDR* Augusta County Register of Deaths

*ACLB* Augusta County Land Book

*SCDB* City of Staunton Deed Book, City Courthouse, 113 East Beverley Street

*SCWB* City of Staunton Will Book

*SCBR*: City of Staunton Register of Births

*SCDR* City of Staunton Register of Deaths

*SCLB* City of Staunton Land Book

*USC* United States Census

### **Introduction**

<sup>1</sup>*MLH*, 129 and Jane Kallir, *Grandma Moses the Artist Behind the Myth* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc, Publishers), 76-96 and Jane Kallir, *Grandma Moses in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Art Services International, 2001; Yale University Press, 2001), 20-7, 30-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Almanac of American History*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, (Bison Book Corporation, 1983), 364-85 and *The American Heritage History of the Confident Years* (American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc.), 279-292 and Richard K. MacMaster, *Augusta County History 1865-1950*, (Staunton, Va.: Augusta County Historical Society, 1987), 99-112.

<sup>3</sup>Court records show, consistently, that when women were grantees for property, a male trustee was appointed by the court. Women could not vote or run for public office. Farmwives were forced by social custom to wear costumes and undergarments that were inefficient and unhealthy for accomplishing the arduous labors that had to be performed in the hot and humid summers that were common in the Shenandoah Valley.

<sup>4</sup>*MLH*. This is a summary opinion of the writer based upon repeated readings of *My Life's History*. There is never any mention that Anna and Thomas had lingering disagreements about what were their respective roles in living with each other, about how to conduct and merge their separate activities managing a farm and home. There is recurring intuition that they were of the same temperament and trusted each other to individually do what was right for the two of them, and they did so with good humor.

<sup>5</sup>*MLH*, 63-64.

<sup>6</sup>*MLH*, various pages and *ACBR* 1871-1892, Middle River District

1) For the year 1888, line 104: Dec 2, Moses, Wynona R. [born at] Belvidere, [father] T.S., laborer, [residence] Belvidere, [mother] Anna Moses, [birth report] given by parent

2) For the year 1891 [line cannot be read], Loyd Moses, Dec 2, 1891, [born at] Augusta, [father] T.S. Moses, [residence] South River, [mother] Anna Moses, [report of birth] given by father

3) Information contained on the Valley of the Shadow website shows three births.

Augusta County, Virginia Births, 1888-96

- Moses, Forest May 17, 1893, [Father] T.S. [Mother] A.M.

- Moses [no name] Aug 6, 1890 [Father] ?S. [Mother] A.M.

- Moses [no name] June, 1894, [Father] T.S. [Mother] A.M. [remarks] Born Dead

4) *ACDR* 1871-1892, Middle River District

Line #51, Moses [no first name], male, Sept 5, 1890, South River, [no cause given], 1 mo 14d,



Moses, TS &AM, [born] Augusta, [reported by] Father

5)United States Census 1900, Augusta County, Virginia, shows the following general dates of birth for the Moses children. The Moses family was then living at the Dudley Farm. Hugh W's birth was yet to occur.

Ona R., Dec 1888

Loyd L., Dec 1891

Forrest K., Mar 1894

Anna M., Aug 1895

NOTE: The above records do reveal some lack of factual correlations. Grandma Moses remembered that Winona's birth had not been recorded [MLH, 88] and that Forrest was born at the Dudley Farm. Winona's birth was recorded by Thomas. Forrest's recorded birth date, reported by Thomas, [according to Valley of the Shadow research] is May 17, 1893, at which time the Moses family was still at Belvidere. And, the 1900 census records his birth as being March, 1894, at which time the Moses family was still at Belvidere. A son named Robert is entered in the church register for the small chapel, Verona, in which all the Moses family was baptized on September 6, 1896. [*Augusta County Heritage Book*, (Augusta County Heritage Book Committee, Walsworth Publishing Co.) 62.] This baptismal event would have occurred during the Dudley Farm residency. Who was this Robert?

<sup>7</sup>Sally O. and Wayne D. Hannah, *History of the Laurel Hill Baptist Church, 1851-1976*, (Radford, Va.: Commonwealth Press, Inc., First and Berkley), 40. This reference is that "Through correspondence with Grandma Moses' daughter-in-law, we know that '.... Grandma had ten children, 5 babies that did not live; some stillbirths .... all buried in "Laurel Hill" Cemetery....'" Hopefully this will put to partial rest the insistence of several people who say that some of the babies would have to be buried in a cemetery that lies East of Route 340 in the Belvidere area. There is also insistence that some would be buried in the cemetery at the present Baptist Church of Shenandoah Valley, Verona.

Why the Laurel Hill Baptist Church as the final resting site for her five babies? This church occupies a site overlooking a wide section of the Middle River Valley. This peaceful vista would have been on one of the possible routes that Anna and Thomas traveled between Belvidere Farm and Staunton. The earliest baby deaths would have occurred during the Belvidere residency. It is safe to assume that the eye of an artist, already possessed by Anna Moses, would have triggered a need for aesthetic solace for a grieving mother. If you drive by this site today, imagine the view that would have existed when the trees and undergrowth did not exist between the highway and the Middle River Valley. This was part of ".... that beautiful Shenandoah Valley" remembered by Grandma Moses. Did the Moses family attend Laurel Hill Church? Belvidere Farm was some distance away, but the Dudley Farm is almost within sight of the Laurel Hill ridge.

<sup>8</sup>Armstrong, William H., *Barefoot in the Grass, The Story of Grandma Moses* (Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1970), 67-8. Note: This one reference is included to help establish what may have been the thinking of Anna and Thomas Moses from New England, coming into what had been the Confederate States of America only twenty-two years after the Civil War had officially ended. Armstrong created a narration that was both enjoyable and easy to read. However, some of his statements do not agree with official records. His references to actual locations in Staunton are not true. He made no mention of Mount Nebo, the small farm on which the Moses family lived for three years. This was the farm at which Anna Moses established her potato chip business.

**Arrival into Staunton, and first year at the Bell Farm, near Swoope, Pastures District November 1887-November 1889**

<sup>1</sup>MLH, 5

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 55-59. The Strasburg "house" in which Anna and Thomas stayed the night was quite probably the "Colonial Inn," on the corner of King and Massanutten Streets. The landlady would have been Mrs. Lavina Head. Shenandoah County Deed Book 23:261, January 2, 1882.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 59, 6.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 60. If one stands on New Street today, near where Anna and Thomas were perhaps standing after deciding not to stay at the Virginia Hotel, you might be facing what was formerly an alley way that went up the hill [now looking through the parking garage] and intersected South Market Street where to the right stood a structure on the lot that was part of the Stribling estate [torn down in 2003 to make room for the Stonewall Jackson Conference facility]. The Widow Stribling had roomers [1880 U.S. Census] in either this structure, or in her residence which stood where the Stonewall Jackson Hotel now stands. These roomers were all

members of her immediate family. Another possibility would be that Anna and Thomas first spied the white frame house that still stands across from the Stonewall Jackson, at the corner of South Market and Kalorama Alley. This house had been built by Virginia and George Bell, c. 1875, and could have been the “nice and new” house that Grandma Moses remembered in her narrative. The Bells did have four roomers [U.S. Census 1880]. Standing above the Stribling estate and the Bell house was Kalorama House, c. 1810, which could have appeared “old and antique. . .very fancy front door. . .large hall. . . a sitting room. . .windows hanging- out over the street...” Kalorama House was one of the recognized houses in Staunton for public accommodations. In 1887 it had an “L” addition on the rear that extended to Kalorama Alley and this could have provided the “windows hanging over the street.”

Two other scenarios are logically feasible. One is that Anna and Thomas turned right at corner of New and Main Streets, then walked eastward, going one block and turning right onto Market Street. The second possibility would be that they decided against staying at the Virginia Hotel while still walking on Greenville and the young lad was walking “down” from the western end of Kalorama Street. Following his instructions, they would have climbed Kalorama and turned to the left onto Market Street.

Any of the above three are all speculations based upon the highest probable possibilities derived from what is known about who and what existed in Staunton in November of 1887.

Grandma Moses remembered in 1949-1950 that the Widow Bell’s husband had died about five years previously, due perhaps to lingering effects from the war. In November 1887 Kalorama House was one of the numerous properties owned by Robert Bickel. This was not his residence, and it may have been managed by Bettie N. Bickel the widow of his brother Adam who had died in 1882. Virginia Bell who lived in what may have been the “new” house was not a widow. Her husband George ran a grocery store on Main Street [East Beverley] and he was still living after the year 1900.

In his book *Barefoot in the Grass* (page 69), William Armstrong wrote that on Sunday Anna went to the Presbyterian Church with Widow Bell and her five children and was shown the name of her husband in a long listing of names on the church wall. This was a listing of church members who had served in the Civil War. The register for First Presbyterian Church [which was the only Presbyterian Church in Staunton during the Civil War in which Mr. Bell could have been a member] does not show any Bells being a member of that church until after 1900. An alternative that has been offered is the house that formerly stood on the northwest corner at the intersection of East Frederick and North Coalter Streets. This house, torn down by Mary Baldwin College in the 1960s, had belonged to Elizabeth A. and Samuel H. Bell (son of Francis who owned all the farms in Pastures District). However, in November of 1887, they were youngsters still at home with their parents. She was living in Nashville, Tennessee, and he was living in Dublin, Virginia, in the home of his father.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 60.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 60.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 62.

<sup>10</sup>ACLR 1885 through 1890, Pastures District.

<sup>11</sup>ACDB 90:338.

<sup>12</sup>MLH, 61.

<sup>13</sup>ACLR 1885 through 1890, Pastures District.

<sup>14</sup>MLH, 62, 63.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 138.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 63.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 63.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 64.

<sup>19</sup>Christian and Margaret Eakle family bible, New Hope Methodist Church, New Hope, Va.

<sup>20</sup>From a photo engraving showing the area around Augusta County Court House; Jedediah Hotchkiss and Joseph P. Waddell, *Economic Atlas of Augusta County*, (1885), 9.

<sup>21</sup>Over a span of approximately eight years the same business occupied this building under at least four different names: Stack and Powell, Stack and Spitler, Spitler and Powell, and the Staunton Grocery Company.

<sup>22</sup>John Waldrop’s store was a prominent establishment and would have served a customer base spread over a wide area of southwestern Augusta County. A photo, c.1920, shows a large white building and the adjoining Swoope Depot.

<sup>23</sup>Eakle Family Bible, New Hope Methodist Church, New Hope, Va.

<sup>24</sup>SCLB, 1887 through 1893 and *Staunton, Virginia, Its Past Present and Future*, (etching from photo), (New York: Staunton Development Co, South Publishing Co., 1893, New York, N.Y.), 72.

<sup>25</sup>SCLB 1887 through 1893.

<sup>26</sup>SCDB.

<sup>27</sup>Robert J. Driver, Jr., *14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, Robert J. Driver, Jr., (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc.), 119.

<sup>28</sup>Robert S. Contz, *The History of the Greenbrier, America's Resort*, (Charleston, W.Va.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co.), 18.

<sup>29</sup>Driver, *14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, 178. On November 26, 1862, Union General George Crook received reports that the 14<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry was recruiting at Sinking Creek Valley, Greenbrier County. He decided to mount some type of attack, disrupt Confederate activity and move on to Covington, Va. Various units of the Federal Army then stationed at different locations in central and southeastern (now West) Virginia were ordered to advance east over the crest of the Appalachians in snow that was drifted up to depths of three feet. Federal Major William H. Powell was given permission to continue the advance eastward with an advance party of twenty-one men to scout the Confederate encampment that was about five miles distant. Contact was made with Confederate scouts, two were captured, two escaped but did not report to their headquarters that contact was made with the enemy. With information gained from the two captured scouts Major Powell continued his advance to within one mile of a Confederate encampment that contained 500 men. He decided to attack with his twenty-one men. The attack caught the Confederate unit unprepared. There were no serious casualties and the Confederate officers, Lt. Col. John A. Gibson, Major B.F. Eakle, and Captain W.A. Lackey accepted Powell's demand for surrender of the camp. In 1890, W.H. Powell was awarded the Medal of Honor for capturing this superior force without firing a shot.

When the main Federal force arrived later a melee did break-out. Two Confederates were killed, two wounded, one paroled, and 113 officers and men were captured. This engagement was reported widely in newspapers throughout the North (positively) and South (not so positively). General George Crook called it the one of the most brilliant actions of the entire war. It was at this engagement that J.W. Spittler was captured. It would appear that Major B.F. Eakle was not captured. Perhaps he escaped during the skirmish that occurred subsequent to the initial Confederate surrender. From Tim McKinney, *The Civil War in Greenbrier County West Virginia* (Charleston, W.Va.: Quarrier Press), 240-244.

Private Spittler married the major's niece, Sarah Frances Eakle, March 25, 1869 according to the Eakle Family Bible.

<sup>30</sup>Jedediah Hotchkiss and Joseph Waddell, *Historical Atlas of Augusta County 1885*.

<sup>31</sup>MLH, 64.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 64.

#### **Belvidere Farm, Middle River District, November 1888 - February 1895**

<sup>1</sup>MLH, 64.

<sup>2</sup>ACDB 97:60 and *The Economic Atlas of Augusta County 1885*, the Middle River District map shows an exact placement for the C.E. Eakle farm on South River; About two inches north of Koiner's Store, just to the left of the railroad, 77.

<sup>3</sup>ACDB, 106:612.

<sup>4</sup>ACDB 106:612, purchase date was November 16, 1888.

5. *The Confident Years*, (American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc.), 279-292. The average annual United States industrial wage for the year 1900 was \$435. The average wage for a family of four in 1890 was \$380.

<sup>6</sup>MLH, 69.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 71.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. 70.

<sup>9</sup>*Traditional Country Skills*, Ed. Sheila Buff, (Guilford Press, Conn., The Lyons Press, 2001), 150-155.

<sup>10</sup>MLH, 72.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 35.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 54.

<sup>13</sup>ACDB 133:460, August 16, 1894. Belvidere was used to secure and make safe nine different notes totaling \$9,500. These notes were probably accumulated to pay for construction of the Eakleton Hotel. In ACDB 133:293, September 11, 1895, Belvidere is sold at public auction to R.C. Byers and Andrew Bowling for \$9,000. SCDB 13:612. B.F. Eakle borrowed \$7,500 from his uncle, Major B.F. Eakle and it was passed-on to Staunton Perpetual Building and Loan Co.

<sup>14</sup>In SCDB 12:432, the Eakleton Hotel is sold to the Daughertys. SCDB 12, p291, November 10, 1894; Staunton Grocery Co. was declared "failed at business." All assets in the storehouse and in the warehouse on Water Street were sold by court order. Everything went, including a pair of mules.

<sup>15</sup>SCDB 14:32, February 21, 1896. The Spitler home is sold at public auction February 14, 1896, and purchased by Major B.F. Eakle. In SCDB14:32, Major B.F. Eakle conveyed the Spitler home to his niece Sarah Frances (Eakle) Spitler and her daughter Helena; for "natural love and affection and the sum of five dollars."

<sup>16</sup>MLH, 77.

<sup>17</sup>Otto Kallir, *Grandma Moses*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1973), 122. The autobiography of Grandma Moses was published in English, German, and Dutch.

<sup>18</sup>Kallir, *Grandma Moses*, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 297, 300, 308.

**The Dudley Farm, Middle River District, on Middle River, February 1895 – January 1901**

<sup>1</sup>ACDR 1871-1892, Middle River District, June, 1894: A son born dead, reported by father and 1900 U.S. Census: The birth-date written for Anna was "Aug 1895."

<sup>2</sup>*The Confident Years*, ed. American Heritage (American Heritage Publishing Co.), 279-292.

<sup>3</sup>ACDB 123:102, lease for Dudley Place.

<sup>4</sup>U.S. Census 1900.

<sup>5</sup>MLH, 77.

<sup>6</sup>Kallir, *Grandma Moses*, Apple Butter Making, Plate 222, p. 234 and photo of the Moses family and others in front of the Dudley Place, Plate 223, p.235.

<sup>7</sup>MLH, 80.

<sup>8</sup>ACDB 60:294.

<sup>9</sup>ACWB 14:284.

<sup>10</sup>J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia*, (Harrisonburg, Va.: Carrier Press, second edition), 270.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 253.

<sup>12</sup>Nat G. Barnhart, (ed. Katie E. (Rea) Barnhardt), *United Methodist Church History, 1806-1972* (New Hope, Va.), 35.

<sup>13</sup>Peyton, 226, 227.

<sup>14</sup>ACWB 44:223-228, 44:312-328.

<sup>15</sup>ACDB 60:294.

<sup>16</sup>MLH, 85.

<sup>17</sup>Kallir, *Grandma Moses*, Plate 285, p. 58 and *Staunton The Queen City 1761-1906*, ed. and compiled by Albert E. Walker, second printing, 1992, 30.

**Mount Airy, Rolla (now Verona), Middle River District, January 1901 – September 1902**

<sup>1</sup>MLH, 86.

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Census 1900.

<sup>3</sup>ACDB 133:332, January 3, 1901. Some articles written about the role that Leroy Daingerfield played in selling the farm to Thomas Moses mention a personal, informal signing of deeds between Leroy Daingerfield and Thomas Moses. Neither the name nor signature of Mr. Daingerfield appears in either the deed for purchase of the farm from the Crawford heirs or on the deed for sale of the farm to Thomas and Anna Moses. Also, the Moses deed contained a commitment of trust notes which Anna and Thomas were to pay; this transaction would have required signature of a witnessing notary.

<sup>4</sup>MLH, 86, 87, 88.

<sup>5</sup>MLH, 87.

<sup>6</sup>*Augusta County Heritage Book*, (Augusta County Book Committee, Walsworth Publishing Co.), 62.

<sup>7</sup>*thePeerage.com*, Person page 3603.

<sup>8</sup>*Queen Victoria*, Cecil Woodham-Smith, Alfred Knopf, 1972, 305.

<sup>9</sup>Edward Covert, "Grandma Moses & Alfred Anson: Late immigrants to Augusta County," *Augusta Historical Bulletin* (Verona, Va.: Augusta County Historical Society, 2001), vol. 37, 55, 59, 62.

<sup>10</sup>ACDB 94:219, June 3, 1879; Caroline and Frederick Anson, of Windsor, England, purchased 422 acres from William and Mary F. Jordan and ACDB107:372, June 1, 1888; heirs[ and widow] of Frederick Anson convey their interests to brother Alfred and ACDB 135:47, September 3, 1901; Alfred Anson and wife Elena sell to Joshua Sutton, divided into two tracts totaling 140+ acres, \$7,750.

<sup>11</sup>MLH, 89.

<sup>12</sup>Hoover deed; ACDB 137:516, September 4, 1902, Hoover deed; and ACDB 137:518, September 4, 1902; Myers deed.

<sup>13</sup>MLH, 89.

**Mount Nebo, Beverley Manor, Northeast Edge of Staunton September 1902 – December 1905**

<sup>1</sup>ACDB 137:536, September 11, 1902.

<sup>2</sup>MLH, 90.

<sup>3</sup>*Staunton News Leader*, February 23, 1952.

<sup>4</sup>MLH, 90.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 90,91.

<sup>6</sup>*Staunton News Leader*, February 23, 1952.

<sup>7</sup>MLH, 91.

<sup>8</sup>*Staunton the Queen City*, 23.

<sup>9</sup>MLH, 91.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>13</sup>ACDB 147:36, December 7, 1905.

<sup>14</sup>MLH, 95, 96, 97.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>16</sup>Jane Kallir, *Grandma Moses in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*.

<sup>17</sup>ACDB 148:556, September 26, 1906.

<sup>18</sup>Jane Kallir, *Grandma Moses, the Artist Behind the Myth*, 19.

<sup>19</sup>MLH, 137.

<sup>20</sup>Otto Kallir, *Grandma Moses*, 178.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 169-175.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 116-118.

<sup>25</sup>MLH, 133.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 129, 130.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 89.

**Summary**

<sup>1</sup>MLH, 36.

<sup>2</sup>Jane Kallir (with contributions by Roger Cardinal, Michael D. Hall, Lynda Roscoe Hartigan, Judith Stein), *Grandma Moses in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Yale University Press, Art Services International, 2001), 58.

<sup>3</sup>A word invented by the writer c. 1959 during a flash of creativity as an attention challenged student in Art Appreciation 101.

<sup>4</sup>Kallir, *Grandma Moses in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*.

# The Stonewall Brigade Band celebrates 150th anniversary

The Stonewall Brigade Band had its beginnings as the “Mountain Sax Horn Band” early in 1855. With the popularity of the Saxhorn, which had been patented by Antoine Adolphe Sax in 1845, and with the location of Staunton halfway across the Shenandoah Valley between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny Mountains, it was natural for the group to adopt the name of Mountain Sax Horn Band.

On Independence Day, 1857 the band went by train to the Craigsville Depot to play a concert and two days later played for United States Senator R.M.T. Hunter, who was visiting in Staunton. The first formal public concert of the newly organized band took place on Friday Night, July 17, 1857, at Union Hall on Beverley Street in Staunton. Assisted by the Staunton Quartette and the Glee Club, the band played before an audience described as “the elite and fashionable of Staunton.” The admission charge was fifty cents per person or one dollar to any gentlemen accompanying one or more ladies.

During the 1850s the band began a long-standing tradition of playing for all civic occasions and political rallies such as those held for President Millard Fillmore, President Franklin Pierce, Presidential candidates Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge, and the ardent secessionist William L. Yancey. The band headed all political processions regardless of party affiliation. All churches were accorded its services.



*The Stonewall Brigade Band at Gypsy Hill Park circa 1910-1920. (SBB Collection)*



*The original members of the Mountain Sax Horn Band. (SBB Collection)*

Activities of the musicians took on a decidedly military aspect during 1858, when the state militia was reorganized to replace the old Staunton Light Infantry, which had been more of a social body than a military one. The West Augusta Guard was activated and the Staunton Artillery was formed. The frequent parades, reviews, musters, inspections, and overnight encampments of these units were shared almost invariably with the band. At that in time the band became known both as the Mountain Saxhorn Band and Turner's Silver Cornet Band, depending on the occasion for which it played.

On Wednesday, April 17, 1861, Captain John D. Imboden, commander of the Staunton Artillery, was speeding westward from Richmond by special train. En route he received a telegram announcing that the Virginia Convention had passed the Ordinance of Secession. Imboden. Already anticipating the outcome of the issue, he was hurrying with secret orders to move the Staunton military units as soon as he received official word. With the outbreak of the Civil War, town bands (north and south) marched off with local battalions. The Augusta Guards became Company L of the Fifth Virginia Volunteer Infantry Regiment. With it most of the Mountain Saxhorn Band also mustered into General Thomas J. Jackson's First Brigade, Army of the Shenandoah. Of these band musicians who served during the war, one was killed, several were wounded, and probably one other were taken prisoner.

Throughout the conflict, the bandsmen performed a number of combat-related tasks, including guard and courier duties. From early 1862, they served as stretcher-bearers and surgeons' assistants. In addition to entertaining the troops in the field, they frequently appeared in concerts in Fredericksburg, Richmond, Staunton, and elsewhere to help recruiting rallies, clothing drives, and war relief fundraising.

Soon after Christmas in 1862, the members of the Fifth Virginia Volunteer Infantry (Stonewall Brigade) were detailed for picket duty along the Rappahannock River, below Fredericksburg, Virginia. The band exchanged serenades on several evenings with the Union band across the river. This was a time of quietude and good will; gifts of tobacco and apples were sent across the river while presents of coffee and candy were dispatched in return.

Much later in the war, the long-awaited spring campaign opened in the Wilderness of northern Virginia on May 5, 1864. The Fifth Regiment, near Locust Grove, advanced far enough to the north to hear the





*An early twentieth-century version of the band poses in front of First Presbyterian Church on West Frederick Street. (SBB Collection)*

strains of “The Star-Spangled Banner” played by one of Ulysses S. Grant’s bands. The Stonewall Brigade Band responded with “The Bonnie Blue Flag” and the serenade was concluded with the Federal rendition of “Home, Sweet Home.”

Long after the war, President Ulysses S. Grant stopped in Staunton on June 30, 1874 on his way by train to White Sulfur, West Virginia. The Staunton townspeople and particularly the band greeted him with fond enthusiasm. The band played several musical selections in tribute to the President from the portico of the American Hotel across from the Staunton depot. In response to an inquiry from, Mayor Trout identified the musicians as members of the Stonewall Brigade Band. Grant, raising his hat and bowing, murmured, “The immortal Jackson!”

The band went on to honor Grant by playing for his funeral service in New York in 1885 and again for the dedication of his tomb. The prestige earned by its association with Grant served the band well in subsequent years when many financial and structural organizational woes bedeviled the band. The band’s rich heritage and the character of the membership bolstered spirits to overcome many serious threats to the band’s continuous existence.

By 1875 the band was formally known as “The Stonewall Brigade Band.” The band included ten Civil War veterans and eight of the original founders of the band. The band played concerts on the street corner of Main and Water Streets above the bridge (now called Beverley and Central Avenue), in the courthouse square, once on Reservoir Hill, and on West Main Street opposite Trinity Church.

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the band became known nationally. In April of 1889 the band went to the Washington Centennial in New York City and engaged in numerous parades and concerts. Here the band played for President Harrison and ex-President Cleveland. In 1893 the band was engaged for a two-week period at the Columbian Exposition, World’s Fair, Chicago, where the band acquired the first-ever manufactured over the shoulder bass horn, called a helicon. The helicon is still in the band’s possession.

The band also marched in six Presidential Inaugural Parades (Taft’s, McKinley’s, and two each of Cleveland’s and Wilson’s) and played at Cleveland’s inauguration. A crowning privilege came when the band was given the opportunity to sponsor a United States Marine Corps Band concert, under the direction of John Philip Sousa. The Marine Band played before a packed Opera House, now the Staunton City Courthouse.

The city purchased thirty acres of the Donaghe farm in 1876 and purchased additional land to total eighty-five acres by 1889 when the name Gypsy Hill Park had been adopted. On Friday November 1, 1889 (Arbor Day), the band played while 1,500 trees were planted in Gypsy Hill Park. Thus began the continuous series of park concerts that has lasted to the present. The first bandstand was erected soon after that. It was a tall gazebo in the circle of trees south to southeast of the current bandstand.

In February of 1976, Frank B. Holt, a member of the band since 1923 and Past President of the Staunton Kiwanis Club asked the Kiwanis Club to raise funds to build a new bandstand. The dedication service for the new bandstand was Saturday, July 3, 1976. at 8 p.m., featuring keynote speaker U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., and a concert appropriate for celebrating the 200th birthday of the U.S.A.

The Stonewall Brigade Band is the nation’s oldest continuous community band sponsored by local government and funded, in part, by tax monies. While a number of community bands have their beginnings earlier than the Stonewall Brigade Band’s 1855 founding, all of the other bands have gone out of existence at some time and then been reorganized.

The band conducts its annual Fall-Winter-Spring series of rehearsals each Monday night, from 8 to 9:30 p.m. in the band room at the entrance to Gypsy Hill Park. Members learn new music and improve their performance skills in preparation for upcoming concerts.

Information from *The Stonewall Brigade Band* by Marshall Moore Brice. The out-of-print book is available for reference in the Staunton Public Library and for loan from the Augusta County Public Library and the Massanutten Regional Library (Harrisonburg, Va.). Copies are available for purchase by special arrangement from the Stonewall Brigade Band, Inc. Address inquiries to: Treasurer, Stonewall Brigade Band, Inc., 3 Gypsy Hill Park, Staunton, VA. 24401. For more information visit [www.stonewallbrigadeband.com](http://www.stonewallbrigadeband.com).



*The Stonewall Brigade Band at the St. Louis World's Fair in September of 1904.  
(SBB Collection)*

# General Grant's outspoken comments on Lee, Jackson, and the conduct of the Civil War

by Daniel A. Metraux

*The previous article on the Stonewall Brigade Band focused on an important part of Staunton's Civil War history and on the band's ties with General and President Ulysses S. Grant. In this article, Mary Baldwin College professor Daniel Metraux examines General Grant's comments about General Lee and about the band's namesake, General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson.*

The student of history can gain a better appreciation of a major historical event by understanding the views and ideas of its chief participants. The American Civil War is no exception. Living here in the Shenandoah Valley only thirty miles away from the burial places of Lee and Jackson, one hears great adulation of General Robert E. Lee and General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson. It is thus very interesting to hear the opinions of General and President Ulysses S. Grant concerning the War and the leaders of the Confederacy expressed to a young *New York Herald* reporter while steaming for Hong Kong on a ship on the China Sea.

When General Grant left the White House in March 1877, he was still relatively young. At age fifty-five he was a national hero. He had conquered the Confederacy and had served two terms as a President who, despite the many scandals involving officials under him, remained personally popular with a public that did not fully associate him with the crimes of his underlings. Grant was also wealthy. A frugal man, he had saved a major portion of his earnings and had received many gifts of cash and property at the end of the Civil War. He also invested his money wisely and soon after his presidency became the beneficiary of a large windfall from an investment he had made in a mining company.<sup>1</sup>

The big question for Grant, then, was what he should do with himself. He loved to travel, so ten weeks after leaving office, he, his

wife Julia, and other friends, colleagues and family members embarked on a twenty-eight month world tour that took them all over Europe, the Middle East, northern Africa and such Asian states as India, Burma, Siam, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaya, and China. He was the first American President or former-President to travel anywhere in Asia and the first former head of a major Western state to visit China and Japan. He was treated and welcomed as the chief of a major country and had and was the “undismayed survivor” of a thousand recaptions,”<sup>2</sup> but it was as General Grant rather than President Grant that the world celebrated his visits.

Fortunately for posterity, the *New York Herald* assigned a young reporter, John Russell Young (1840-1899), to accompany the Grants on their voyage and send home a stream of newspaper columns about the trip. Traveling aboard slow-moving steamship, Grant could relax for hours on the deck, read his newspapers, smoke his beloved cigars, and reminisce about the Civil War and his presidency with Young, who became the General’s constant companion.

General Grant was surprisingly candid in his remarks to Young, who took copious notes. Young was concerned that Grant would be angry that his private comments to the reporter had been published for public consumption, so he often showed the General drafts of his articles, but Grant never once censored him or showed any hesitation in continuing his discussions. When Young returned with Grant to the United States in 1879, he quickly compiled his columns into a two-volume book that he published later that year with the title, *Around the World with General Grant*.<sup>3</sup> Grant’s very extensive memoirs of his war experiences were published in 1885 and 1886, after his death.<sup>4</sup> Grant’s approach, however, is very straightforward and lacks the candor of his comments to reporter Young.

While relaxing aboard his ship during his cruise, Grant felt free to speak on a great range of topics concerning the Civil war and his life in politics. He spoke about his fellow officers, his Confederate adversaries, his conduct of the war, and many of the people he encountered in politics. He also talked about other world leaders whom he had met, including, Bismarck, whom he admired, and Napoleon III, whom he detested.<sup>5</sup>

Grant portrays himself as a man of peace who would only engage in war if absolutely necessary. He frequently said that a short and decisive war was often the best way to solve a difficult situation and to

restore order. He waived aside accusations that as a general he had been a “butcher” whose tactics had led to the needless deaths of tens of thousands of soldiers under his command. He stressed that when one is fighting a war, one must fight it vigorously with the goal of a quick decisive victory. It would be far less humane to prolong a war – and thus extend the killing – by being afraid to fully engage the enemy. The only battle he ever regretted was at Cold Harbor<sup>6</sup> where so many of his soldiers died, but so little was gained.<sup>7</sup>

Grant was convinced that an able general must be comparatively young and in good physical shape. He must be able to ride a horse for hours on end, sleep and camp in rough quarters, and rally his men even under very dangerous conditions. “A successful general needs health, youth and energy. I should not like to put a general in the field over fifty. When I was in the army I had a physique that could stand anything. Whether I slept on the ground or in a tent, whether I slept one hour or ten in the twenty-four, whether I had one meal or three, or none, made no difference. I could lie down and sleep in the rain without caring. But I was many years younger, and I could not hope to do that now.”<sup>8</sup>

Using these criteria Grant criticized his chief adversary, Confederate General Robert E. Lee:

I never ranked Lee as high as some others of the army....that is to say, I never had as much anxiety when he was in my front as when [General] Joe Johnson was in front. Lee was a good man, a fair commander, who had everything in his favor. He was a man who needed sunshine. He was supported by the unanimous voice of the South; he was supported by a large party in the North; he had the support and sympathy of the outside world. All this is of immense advantage to a general. Lee had this in a remarkable degree. Everything he did was right. He was treated like a demi-god. Our generals had a hostile press, luke-warm friends and a public opinion outside. The cry was in the air that the North only won by brute force; that the generalship and valor were with the South. This has gone into history, with so many other illusions that are historical.

Lee was of a slow, conservative, cautious nature, without imagination or humor, always the same, with grave dignity. I never could see in his achievements what justifies his reputation. The illusion that nothing but heavy odds beat him will not stand the ultimate light of history. I know it is not true. Lee was a good deal of a headquarters general; a desk general, from what I can hear and from what his officers say. He was almost too old for active service—the best service in the field. At the time of the surrender he was fifty-eight or fifty-nine and I was forty-three. His officers used to say that he posed himself, that he was retiring and exclusive, and that his headquarters were difficult to access. I remember when the com-

missioners came through our lines to treat, just before the surrender that one of them remarked on the great difference between our head-quarters and Lee's. I always kept open house at head-quarters, so far as the army was concerned.<sup>9</sup>

Grant felt that Lee was guilty of a long series of military blunders that in the long run hurt the Confederacy. While readily conceding his own errors, including his deplorable performance at Cold Harbor, Grant faults Lee for his prolonged defense of Richmond near the end of the war, thereby allowing Union forces to pin him down and destroy much of his army.

Lee's great blunder was in holding Richmond. It must have been that [President Jefferson] Davis felt that the moral effect of the fall of Richmond would have been equal to the fall of the South. Or it may be, as I have sometimes thought, that Lee felt that the war was over; that the South was fought out; that any prolongation of the war would be misery to both the North and the South. After I crossed the James, the holding of Richmond was a mistake. Nor have I ever felt that the surrender at Appomattox was an absolute military necessity. I think that in holding Richmond, and even in consenting to that surrender, Lee sacrificed his judgment as a soldier to his duty as a citizen and the leader of the South. I think Lee deserves honor for that, for if he had left Richmond when Sherman invaded Georgia, it would have given us another year of war.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, when Lee surrendered, Grant said that he got lucky with Lee:

My pursuit of Lee was hazardous. I was in a position of extreme difficulty. You see I was marching away from my supplies, while Lee was falling back on his supplies. If Lee had continued his flight another day I should have had to abandon the pursuit, fall back to Danville, build the railroad, and feed my army. So far as supplies were concerned, I was almost at my last gasp when surrender took place.<sup>11</sup>

The Confederate generals Grant admired the most were Joe Johnson and Stonewall Jackson. When it came to evaluating Jackson, General Grant made note of his early victories, but questioned whether his great victories "justify his reputation as a great commander." He was "killed too soon, and before his rank allowed him a great command." During the early part of the war he faced inexperienced Union soldiers led by inexperienced officers. It would have been a test of generalship if Jackson had met Sheridan in the Valley, instead of some

of the men he did meet. From what I know of Jackson, and all I know of his campaigns, I have little doubt of the result. If Jackson had attempted on Sheridan the tactics he attempted so successfully on others, he would not only have been beaten, but destroyed.”<sup>12</sup>

Grant admired General Jackson’s character, even if at times it was a bit bizarre. “I knew Stonewall Jackson at West Point and in Mexico. At West Point he came into the school at an older age than the average and began with a low grade. But he had so much courage and energy, worked so hard, and governed his life by a discipline so stern that he steadily worked his way along and rose far above others who had more advantages. Stonewall Jackson, at West Point, was in a state of constant improvement. He was a religious man then, and some of us regarded him as a fanatic. Sometimes his religion took strange forms—hypochondria—fancies that an evil spirit had taken possession of him.”

General Grant likened Jackson to Cromwell—“a Puritan—much more of the New Englander than the Virginian. If any man believed in the rebellion he did. And his nature was such that whatever he believed in became a deep religious duty, a duty he would discharge at any cost.” Grant reminisced that he and Jackson had been good friends, that he respected him, and that had he lived, he would have matured and adapted himself as a general so that if he had faced a Sheridan or a Sherman, he would have risen to the occasion.<sup>13</sup>

Grant had nothing but praise for Generals Sherman and Sheridan. Grant was effusive in his praise for Sherman’s skill as a tactician, general and leader of men. Sherman, he said, “is not only a great soldier, but a great man. He is one of the very great men in our country’s history. He is a many-sided man. He is an orator with few superiors. As a writer he is among the first. As a general I know of no man I would put above him. Above all he has a fine character—so frank, so sincere, so outspoken, so genuine.”<sup>14</sup>

Regarding other Union generals, Grant is surprisingly generous in his critique of General McClellan:

I should say that the two disadvantages under which he labored were his receiving a high command before he was ready for it, and the political sympathies which he allowed himself to champion. It is a severe blow to anyone to begin so high. I always dreaded going to the army of the Potomac. After the battle of Gettysburg I was told I could have the command; but I managed to keep out of it. I had seen so many generals fall, one after another, like bricks in a row, that I shrank from it. After the battle of Mission Ridge, and my ap-



pointment as Lieutenant General, and I was allowed to choose my place, it could not be avoided. Then it seemed as if the time was right, and I had no hesitation.<sup>15</sup>

Looking back on the entire conflict and the claim that Confederate President Jefferson Davis' poor leadership contributed to the loss of the South, Grant jumped to Davis' defense:

Davis did his best, did all a man could do, to save the Confederacy. This argument is like some of the arguments current in history—that the war was a war against windmills, that if one man or another had been in authority, the result would have been different; that some more placable man than Davis could have made a better fight. This is not true. The war was a tremendous war, as no one knows better than those who were in it. Davis did all he could, and all any man could, for the South. The South was beaten from the beginning. There was no victory possible for any government resting upon the platform of the Southern Confederacy. Just as soon as the war united and aroused the young men of the North and called out the national feeling, there was no end but the end that came.

Grant himself enjoyed huge popularity and there was a movement by some in the Republican Party<sup>16</sup> to have him nominated for a third presidential term in 1880. He even had the respect of many of his former adversaries.<sup>17</sup> But the presidential bid failed because of the highhanded tactics of political bosses such as Roscoe Conkling supporting his cause.<sup>18</sup> Before Grant died, he lost his fortune, but was able to recoup some of it due to the generosity of some of his wealthy friends and the success of his memoirs, completed just before his death and published posthumously.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Josiah Bunting III, *Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Times Books, 2004), 146.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in Bunting, 147.

<sup>3</sup>The version of Young's book used here is a one volume edition abridged, edited and introduced by Michael Fellman and published by Johns Hopkins University Press in Baltimore in 2002.

Young was very careful in quoting Grant. He noted: "I make it a rule in all my publications concerning the General, whenever I have quote him, to ask his permission to print, and to ask him also to revise my report to see that I have quoted him correctly." (239)

<sup>4</sup>See Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1886).

<sup>5</sup>Grant had a very low opinion of the first Napoleon: I have always had an aversion to Napoleon and the whole family....Of course the first emperor was a genius, but one of the most selfish and cruel men in history. Outside of his military skill I do not see a redeeming trait in his character. He abused France for his own ends, and brought incredible disasters upon his country to gratify his selfish ambition. I don't think any genius can excuse a crime like that. The third Napoleon was worst than the first...." (Young, 249). While in Paris, Grant pointedly refused an invitation to visit Napoleon's tomb.

<sup>6</sup>Young, 310.

<sup>7</sup>Read Young's chapters on Grant's visits to Burma, Siam and China when Grant discusses his feelings on the Civil War in great detail.

<sup>8</sup>Young, 330. As a general during the war, Young notes that the five-foot seven-inch Grant weighed about 135 pounds, but that in 1879 Grant now weighed about 185 pounds.

<sup>9</sup>Young, 384-5.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted in Young, 434.

<sup>11</sup>Young, 385.

<sup>12</sup>Young, 261.

<sup>13</sup>Young, 261-2.

<sup>14</sup>Young, 301-2.

<sup>15</sup>Young, 387.

<sup>16</sup>Throughout his interviews Grant declares that the Republican Party was the only party fit to govern the United States. The Democratic Party would do little good for the U.S. because its chief supporters were Southerners who had fought against the Union and immigrants whose presence in the U.S. was too brief to make them committed Americans.

<sup>17</sup>When Grant died in July 1885 Fitzhugh Lee, Robert E. Lee's nephew, was in attendance and Confederate Generals Joe Johnson and Simon Bolivar Buckner represented the Confederacy as honorary pallbearers. The Stonewall Brigade Band played for his funeral. Source: Mark Perry, *Grant and Twain: The Story of a Friendship that Changed America* (New York: Random House, 2004), 230.

<sup>18</sup>Bunting, 150.

# The people laughed: Humorous stories from the Uplands of the Virginias

by John L. Heatwole

*Western Virginia folklorist John Heatwole has spent a lifetime collecting oral histories from the hills and hollows of Virginia and West Virginia. The following is a paper taken from his presentation at the spring 2005 meeting of the Augusta County Historical Society. The meeting was held at Augusta Stone Presbyterian Church in Fort Defiance, Va.*

**T**he Shenandoah Valley and the eastern counties of West Virginia continue to be prime collecting areas for oral histories. We continue to find customs, traditions, and language from past eras that have been handed down from generation to generation. As I note quite often, there are still many people living on the same ground their ancestors occupied one or two hundred years ago, or even longer. Folks have always inherited land, houses, and heirlooms, but family stories are also bona fide treasures. Through them, we are allowed a glimpse into the lives and personalities of our forebears. All that is needed to unlock this rich part of our heritage is someone to come along and ask questions about the collective memories of a family or community.

Memories about farming, schools, churches, holiday gatherings, town and country life, each at times have an element of humor. In thirty years of gathering oral history, I have found many stories that have a humorous element in them. Our ancestors had good, healthy senses of humor. While some folklorists involve themselves in deconstructing and categorizing stories, in their essential elements they were simply meant to be told beside a fireplace, at the country store, after church, or when waiting for your turn at the mill. Some of my personal favorites follow:

## **Pure Hocum**

Hocum Misner of Roman, in Augusta County, was as unconcerned as any man you have ever seen in your life. He was quite content to pass his days communing with nature and in taking anything that came along as if it were meant to be. He was not a mover or a shaker, had no desire to be one, and was content with his simple life.

There came a time when Hocum was about to enter his third decade of life. He had enjoyed all of his years thus far without encumbrances to his daily routine. He let the breeze carry him where it would. His parents worried about their son's future, and his father took the opportunity of Hocum's birthday to tell him he would have to go out and find a job. Of course, this suggestion was the farthest thing from Hocum's mind, and he smiled as if he had not heard the words. The elder Misner would not give up. Every day he would bring up the subject of Hocum going to work. Finally one morning, his parents dressed Hocum in his best clothes, combed his hair, and sent him off to Spring Hill to seek out employment.

That night, an obviously tired and unsuccessful Hocum returned home. His parents felt sorry for him, so they fed him and then helped him to bed without asking too many questions about his day. Tomorrow might be different.

The next morning Hocum was once again dressed and made ready for his employment quest. Mr. Misner hitched up the horse to the buggy and drove Hocum to Staunton. Surely, there would be some kind of work for Hocum in the county seat. Mr. Miser left Hocum on a street corner and told him he would pick him up on the same spot that evening for the return trip home.

While Mr. Misner visited friends, took care of some business, and bought some supplies he couldn't find in Spring Hill, Hocum went from business to business asking about jobs. As they rode home that evening Mr. Misner asked Hocum if he had any luck. Hocum answered that he visited many places with "help wanted" placards in the windows, but couldn't find any work. In frustration at the news, Mr. Misner blurted out with conviction in his voice, "Well, why don't you tell 'em you really want to work!" Hocum rode along for a few moments stunned by the tone of his father's voice. He finally answered Mr. Misner's suggestion calmly and sincerely, "I don't want to tell a lie."

Mr. Misner looked at his son, shrugged his shoulders, and gave up the idea as a bad job . . . so to speak.

### **Eating Along the Trail**

Some years ago, I interviewed the late Willard Miller about his recollections of herding cattle from the Mossy Creek area to and from summer grazing lands in Pocahontas County, West Virginia. When he was a boy he was one of the people assigned to drive the cattle along the roads and

through the villages of three counties. His most vivid memory was of bringing the animals back to the home farms in the early fall.

Mr. Miller said the drive took a few days. The drovers carried long poles to keep the cattle together. They had to wear handkerchiefs over their noses and mouths because of the dust. Every once in a while they would use water from their canteens to get the dirt from their eyes; it took longer to get the grit from in between their teeth.

When night fell, they had already made prior arrangements with local people to graze the livestock and feed the drovers, and provide the men and boys a barn to bed down in. One such place was a farm on the west side of Palo Alto Gap on the border of Highland County and Pendleton County. The woman who ran the farm raised sheep and the bill of fare was usually mutton broth. Miller was not fond of mutton broth anyway, but what really put him off his feed were the pieces of wool that floated around on the surface of the liquid.

### **Hens**

Boys always have opinions on everything. One Valley boy was asked to write a composition on the subject of hens in 1883. This is what he had to say:

Hens is curious animals. They don't have no nose, no teeth, nor no ears. They swallow their vittles whole, and chew it up in their crops inside 'em. The outside of hens is generally put inter [sic] pillers [sic] and inter feather dusters. The inside of a hen is generally filled up with marbles and shirt buttons and such. A hen is vary much smaller than a good many other animals, but they will dig up more tomato plants than anything that ain't a hen. Hens is very useful for laying eggs for plum pudding.

### **The Last Rite**

Back in the early part of the twentieth century there were four men who owned farms along Frog Pond Road. They were life-long friends. When one needed help, the others were always there for him. Each week they would get together at one of the homes and talk about the work they had done, or what was upcoming on the calendar. They were not above passing around a bottle of liquor as they relaxed and worked out the kinks from a hard day's work.

It came to pass, as it does for all of us, that one of the men died. The others acted as pallbearers at the funeral and at the interment at Thornrose Cemetery. After the observances, the three remaining friends

returned together to one of the homes. They sat around as night fell talking about the deceased, remembering all of the times they had shared with him through the years. They passed around the bottle, toasting their friend with each swig of whisky.

After some time passed, a perplexed look came over the face of one of the survivors. He looked at the other two and posed a question; "Tell me if I'm wrong. Did we bury him with his head toward the east?" The color drained from the faces of the other men. They agreed that he was right. Now here is the problem: when the Day of Judgment comes the remains of those who have died have to be able to sit up and face toward the east to greet the coming Son of God.

Under the cover of darkness, the three friends returned to the cemetery. They wanted to do one more thing for their friend. They dug up the casket, lifted it out of the grave (no mean feat for men who have been drinking), and turned it around. They lowered it carefully back into place, shoveled the dirt back in, lowered their heads and said a prayer before leaving to return to their homes.

### **Stones Tell Tales**

Almost every cemetery has at least one stone that seems to tell a tale. In a cemetery near Millboro Springs in Bath County there is a stone that has this poem carved into its face:

Here lies the father of twenty-nine,  
He would have had more,  
But he didn't have time.

The Craigsville Cemetery has a stone to a local man who was a blacksmith. Bolted to a platform right beside his marker is the anvil he worked red-hot iron on for years. The blacksmith's last name was Fix.

In the Solomons Church cemetery near Forestville in Shenandoah County there are the graves of two grown sisters, side by side. One sister has the old motif of a hand pointing heavenward on the top of her stone. The other sister's stone has the same hand, except that it is pointing off to somewhere else at a forty-five degree angle. You have to wonder where she went after her death.

At Green Hill Cemetery in Churchville, there is a most interesting grave of the daughter of a Confederate veteran named Stover. Stover was proud of his service in the Army of Northern Virginia and wanted to recognize that service by naming his first son after a Southern war

hero. As it happened, he never had any sons, so he had to settle on the name for one of his daughters. You can read her name today, in the older part of the cemetery – Robertie Lee Stover (Robert E. Lee).

## **Huckleberries**

Most people who know about such things will tell you that if you are ever so fortunate as to eat a huckleberry, you will never eat a blueberry again. Huckleberries were the best of nature's free offerings to our ancestors in western Virginia. For a long period of time it was customary to burn off portions of the mountains each year to make room for the huckleberry bushes to grow during the next several seasons.

The train that ran from Waynesboro to Front Royal along the eastern side of the Shenandoah Valley was known as *The Huckleberry Train* during the summer months of the late nineteenth century up into the early twentieth century. People would gather the berries in baskets, buckets, and boxes and ship them to markets in the north to supplement their incomes. They would keep enough to can for home use, or to sell in the towns. In 1928, one country railroad station in Page County shipped \$30,000 worth of huckleberries to markets in Alexandria and Baltimore.

Virginia Hull remembered that when she was a girl growing up in Highland County grownups did not want children running around in the huckleberry patches because of a fear of snakes, who also dearly loved the huckleberries. Virginia and her little cousin Bob Wiley sat on a big flat rock near the huckleberry grounds. Every so often, her father would bring them branches loaded with berries, and they would strip them into baskets. As they picked the berries the two cousins would talk about what was going on in each family, and about individual family members. One person that the children found perplexing was an older cousin who was a minister of the gospel by trade. Apparently, they had taken one of his sermons to heart and had started repeating some of his words. They could not understand adults and why was it all right for their minister/cousin to say "hell and damnation," but when they yelled it out they were whipped?

There was an old man who lived with his wife on the eastern side of Hopkins Gap in Rockingham County. He loved huckleberries more than almost anything else, and Hopkins Gap was a prime berry-picking ground. The trouble was that this man was deathly afraid of snakes, and snakes and huckleberries went hand-in-hand. It was not the same when you purchased berries from someone else who had done the pick-

ing. Part of the enjoyment was having picked them yourself. As I said at the beginning, he loved huckleberries and so he overcame his fear of the snakes in a unique way. He would carry his baskets to the mountains, but before he would enter the area where the heavy-with-berries bushes were, he would put a length of stovepipe around the bottom half of each leg. These would ride on his thick leather shoes. The snake that struck at him would have to see a reptile dentist afterward. It was unlikely that any snakes stayed around the huckleberry bushes when they heard him coming. He must have sounded like the tin man from the Wizard of Oz.

During one particular summer in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a Staunton newspaper took notice of a bumper huckleberry crop by noting that mountain “swains” were paying the “black coat men” in huckleberries, which the parsons were happy to accept, to perform marriage ceremonies.

During the huckleberry season, in the streets and lanes of Port Republic in Rockingham County, children ran and sang, “H U huckle, B U buckle, huckleberry pie!”

### **Feeding the Hands**

The summer was the time for getting the hay in for the winter. In early times, the hay cutting was a community event with neighbors going from farm to farm until everyone had a good stock on hand to get them through until the next spring. Making hay was not an easy job and any contribution to the effort was valuable. Probably none more so than the women, who from morning to night worked in the kitchens preparing meals for the hands. One woman remembered that at each meal they always had at least three kinds of meat, five or six vegetable dishes, and a whole table of desserts.

In Highland County and Shenandoah County two informants remembered a large pie filled with fruit and berries. It was described as being baked in a pan about eighteen inches across. The fresh ingredients were heaped in the pan and then big flaps of dough were pulled up and over the top. It was called a “swanker” pie. No one remembered what the name meant, but a look at a Pennsylvania-German to English dictionary revealed “schwanger,” which means “pregnant.” A Pregnant pie—our German ancestors had droll senses of humor, but they were usually on the mark.

Whatever the harvest chore, the host family was expected to pro-



vide a sumptuous meal for everyone who came to help. One old bachelor farmer did not have a large family to help with the preparation and serving of the harvest meal. He did have a long-time girlfriend who lived with him and, between the two of them, they were just able to put out a spread of food that would satisfy the group of friends and neighbors who came to help with a hay harvest.

The only problem they had was that there were not enough plates to feed everyone at the same time, but that was all right. The old man would take a dirty plate from a satisfied hand and slip it under the table. He did this with each plate handed him, and soon he brought "clean" plates from under the table and filled them with food for the next hungry person. His hounds stayed busy, concealed by the tablecloth.

### **A Corn Husking**

Just to the west of Augusta County is beautiful Highland County. Old-fashioned corn husking parties continued to be held there longer than in the Valley. The late Doreen Ralston remembered that her father would plant corn in the spring and that he always had a few red ears mixed in for seed. Red ears of corn lured a lot of young men to Ralston's farm in the fall to help get the corn husked and into the cribs because if you found a red ear during a husking you could kiss anyone you wanted. If a single female found a red ear it meant she would marry a handsome man, or she could sneak a kiss from a favored boy.

When Doreen was asked if she did a lot of kissing during those harvest parties she responded immediately, "Oh no! Me and my girl friends was sour on kissin'. All those boys chewed tobacco."

### **A Trip to Staunton**

For many years the people of Highland would make twice yearly trips to Staunton. They would do this in a small wagon convoy, bringing produce, furs, lumber, and other items to trade in the stores for goods they could not make or grow themselves. The trip over the mountains required time and muscle before the wagons were able to travel on somewhat level roads on the east side of the last barrier. Once, after a particularly long and tedious crossing, the amateur teamsters were able to relax a little and give their horses and mules an easy pace. One fellow, in a lead wagon, leaned to the side and called back to a teenaged boy driving the wagon behind. Thinking the boy had never been far from home before, he inquired; "Have you ever traveled this far before?" Oh, yes," the boy piped proudly, "I've been all the way to Stover's Shop."

## **A Bit of a Tall Tale**

One thing about a tall tale is that there is always someone who will swear to the truth of it. Such is the case of an old woman named Sadie, or Sade, as the locals around Sangerville called her. The story goes that Sadie dipped snuff while she worked at weaving on the second floor of her loom house. Every once in a while Sadie would have to spit. She would lean to one side of the loom and with great force spit. The brown juice would go down the stairs, around the corner, around a woodstove, and, ping! into a can behind it—or so I've been told.

## **Butchering**

Butchering hogs was a yearly event usually happening near Thanksgiving when the weather had turned cool. It was a family and neighbor occasion that was planned and set-up like a military campaign. There was a lead butcher, people who scraped the hide after the scalding, others who made the sausage, and more hands who rendered the lard. Butchering day was a time that some people looked forward to, thinking of the coming winter whose severity was still unknown. Some folks hated the process.

Raw hog's liver would melt in your mouth. If you did not show up to help, a little piece of the raw liver would be sent to you to remind you of what you missed.

Children would take the tails and try to pin them to the rear of old men at the butchering. It was often said that country people made butchering into a science and would use every part of the hog except the squeal. After trying to pin the tail on the old timers, people would take it home to hang on the wall behind the cook stove. One man from Churchville remembered on cold mornings the tail would be taken down and swirled around a cast iron pan to grease it for corn cakes or pancakes. How long the tail was kept for that purpose was not stated.

The recipe for Pigs' Feet Jelly is one that few remember, but at one time it was quite common:

After butchering take the pig's feet -  
Singe the hair off and remove the toenails -  
Boil them in a big iron pot -  
Liquid gelatin will form on top -  
Skim it off and set it aside until it's solid-like -  
Rebel it again, adding a little vanilla, or a little nutmeg, or cinnamon to taste -  
Let it set up again and it's ready to put on the table -  
Put ice cream on it, or sugar and cream, or eat it just plain.  
mmm. mmm!

## **News Bees**

In many areas of the uplands of Virginia and West Virginia there was once a belief in the power of news bees. News bees are any little bees that sometimes hover in the air right in front of your face. Most people bat them away with the wave of a hand without realizing the power that the little insects were once thought to possess.

People believed that if you asked simple *yes* or *no* questions the news bee would answer in a fashion. If you asked a question like, "Is my love true to me?" and the answer was "yes", the news bee would move up and down a few times. If the answer was "no", the insect would fly in a tight horizontal circle. Several uncanny stories about the truth of news bees' answers have been handed down to the present, but they are too involved to share at this time, and they have no humor in them.

However, once a man visited his father-in-law in Franklin in Pendleton County, West Virginia. They were sitting on the porch quietly enjoying an afternoon while looking out over the South Branch River. The son-in-law looked over toward the older man and noticed a small insect hovering before his face. The father-in-law quickly brought his two hands together killing the bug. The son-in-law asked what it had been. His father-in-law answered calmly, "It was a news bee." The astonished younger in-law asked incredulously, "Why did you kill it?" Without hesitation the answer came: "No news, is good news."

## **Salesmanship**

There are many stories of people who had a gift for sales or trading. One Valley man went to Court Day penniless, but took a horse to trade or sell. He quickly sold or traded the horse that morning. He continued to buy, sell, and trade, with only a brief break for a nice meal, until well after noon.

After almost a full day of further trading and buying, he started home again. His wife asked him if he had a successful enough day to be able to bring home some groceries and sundries. He carried these into the house in several packages. He also returned with a hundred dollars in cash in his pocket, some candy for the children, and he was leading the same horse he had left with for town that morning. Now, that's trading.

Ben Southard, a blacksmith from Rushville in Rockingham County, was a man whose stories continue to be told. It is said that he could sell anything, but he had a brother-in-law who was always losing his shirt in different business ventures.

The brother-in-law came to Ben's shop one day and told the blacksmith he wanted him to sell a new product for him. "You're the salesman in the family, Ben. If you'll sell this new *Purina Laying Mash* for me, you don't have to invest a penny in it, and you can have half the profits." Ben asked if he could do it "of an evening after the shop's closed?" The answer was that Ben could sell the product any way he saw fit.

The first evening Ben closed down the shop and loaded his buckboard with sacks of laying mash. He went from farm to farm, and even though all the farmers knew Ben, he had a patter he used at each place. When the farmer came to the door Ben would tip his hat and say, "Hello there. I'm Ben Southard and I represent the Purina folks. They got this great new layin' mash. You mix it in with your regular chicken feed, the chickens take a bite of it, tighten up their lips, curl up their toes and fill up the atmosphere with eggs."

Of course, it was said that he sold every bag of the laying mash before the evening was over.

On another occasion Ben advertised in a local paper that he had a rifle to sell. A young man came out to Rushville and Ben handed the youth the rifle to examine. After a close going over the prospective purchaser indicated that he would pay Ben Southard his price, but Ben demurred.

"Before I can sell you this gun, I got to tell you how to load it." The other man looked puzzled and said, "I know how to load a rifle. I've hunted all my life."

Ben said, "Well, that may well be, but this is a very special gun. First, you put the powder in the barrel. Then you tamp it down tight. Then you put the ball in, and ram it down. Then you fill the rest of the barrel with salt."

"Salt?" the perplexed young man questioned.

"Yes," Ben continued, "This gun shoots so far and so straight that the meat will spoil before you can get to it if you don't use salt."

In the same county there was a man named Hirsh who ran a livery stable with his brother. He also sold mules. One day a prospective customer arrived and announced he was looking to purchase a sound mule. Hirsh told the stranger he was in luck; they had some likely mules in a corral outside of town. They rode in the man's buggy out to the site where a half a dozen mules were grazing in a field with a stout hitching post standing firmly in the center.

Hirsh alighted from the buggy and called back to the man, "If you point out one that interests you I'll go in a fetch him for you." The stranger indicated an animal that seemed to be well-formed. Hirsh entered the corral with a rope halter in his hand and approached the mule. The mule stood calmly until Hirsh tried to slip the rope over his ears. Then he broke and started to run every which way at a gallop, with Hirsh in pursuit. The customer watched the scene with an amused look on his face, that is, until the mule ran headlong into the post, knocking himself unconscious.

The man was almost as stunned as the prone animal. Regaining his composure, he called to Hirsh, "Why, that mule is blind, sir!" The livery man, gasping for breath, answered quickly, "No indeed, sir! That mule is just unaware of his surroundings."

### **Finding the McChesney Chair**

One of the most famous supernatural tales of early America is known as the McChesney Ghost. In 1825 strange things began to happen in the southern corner of Augusta County on the estate of Dr. and Mrs. John McChesney. After a McChesney slave girl named Maria sassed an old woman in the neighborhood, furniture and other usually inanimate objects began to move by themselves. It was extremely disconcerting when hot rocks fell from the sky, bounced off the roof and burned the grass in the yard. Even in the house, rocks and clods of dirt would materialize from thin air to fly around the rooms or drop from the ceiling.

In the kitchen house a row of children were sitting on a backless bench when it began to move gently like a tame pony. The youngsters thought it was great fun until the board began to pick up the pace, finally bucking all the children off onto the hard bricks. The crying and terrified children swarmed into the yard not to return to the kitchen for a long time.

Within a few days of the bench incident, objects looking like large pancakes began to fall from the sky around the kitchen building to lie flopping on the ground until they dissolved and disappeared.

Soon, word of the strange occurrences at the McChesney place got out and people from all over the state of Virginia began to appear hoping to witness something unusual. Dr. McChesney was mortified; he ordered everyone to leave his property. He forbade his family and servants to speak of anything else that might happen out of the ordinary, but things continued to happen on and off for many years.

During the McChesney years one of the strangest things happened to Mrs. McChesney and her infant son. One day Mrs. McChesney was sitting in the parlor trying to soothe her ill child. A movement caught her eye and she saw that a chair on the opposite side of the room was walking toward her. She jumped to her feet and, clutching the child, moved cautiously to another corner of the room. The chair, as if it had eyes, turned and followed her. Mrs. McChesney ran screaming from the house.



*The McChesney Chair*

Several years ago I was able to track down the whereabouts of the famous

chair. It is still in the McChesney family. I was given permission to go to the home to take some photographs. I took about two hundred photographs and slides. I don't know why I thought I needed so many. I suppose I wasn't taking any chances in case there was some kind of hex on the chair.

When I finished and placed the chair back in its spot, I asked the owner's wife if they had ever seen it move. She answered right away, "No, but we're keeping an eye on it."

### **Not Exactly Scripture**

Quakers settled throughout the Valley in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They had their largest concentration in the Winchester area. The following toast is from the nineteenth century Winchester community of Quakers:

Here's from me and my folks,  
To thee and thy folks  
Ever since folks have been folks,

There have not been many folks,  
Who have loved any folks,  
Better than I and my folks,  
Love thee and thy folks.

### **A Baptism Delayed**

Rufus Hildebrand had lived a long life. For most of that life he had been a bad man. He and his like-minded friends had raised enough Cain to open a molasses factory. They had consumed enough corn liquor to keep several stills in business for years. On Sunday mornings they were at their worst, riding their horses around churches while yelling and firing revolvers and shotguns in the air.

As the years passed something came over old Rufus. He felt his time growing short and he began to have conversations with the very minister whose congregation he had terrorized for so long. He eventually decided to give up his bad habits and join the church.

The day was set for the baptism in the old millpond. All around the bank stood and sat people to witness the historic occasion. In one section sat the former cronies of Rufus Hildebrand. They passed the bottle and shook their heads in disbelief; the old reprobate was about to go under. It was a chilly November morning as Rufus and the minister began to wade out into the pool. They had gone only a few steps when Rufus asked if they could postpone the baptism until a more sunny day. The minister said, "Oh no! You've got to get this done. You've got to get right with the lord." Rufus gritted his chattering teeth and continued arm and arm with the minister into deeper water.

All of a sudden, Rufus broke free and turned back toward the shore. A gasp rose from the crowd. The minister called after the retreating figure, "Rufus what are you doing?" Old Rufus Hildebrand did not turn around. He called over his shoulder, "I believe the Lord's waited this long, he'll wait 'til spring."

Rufus was finally baptized the next year, on a sunny afternoon in late May.

### **A Place to Lay His Head**

In the nineteenth century there were traveling preachers who served the isolated homes in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Along with bringing the word of God to the hinterlands, these men in the black frock coats would also bring apple tree cuttings from the previous farms they had visited. After a sermon and prayers, good meals, and a place

to rest, the preacher would graft new varieties of apples onto the host family's apple trees. At each farm he would improve the stock and take some cuttings away with him to share elsewhere.

Many families in the mountains remembered Brother Hatmaker who for years rode the rough pathways between highland settlements. Nothing was too good for Brother Hatmaker. The people loved him and valued his visits. Late one evening he arrived at a particular farm. He was tired and declined a meal; all he wanted was a place to rest his head. A room was made-up for the minister, with a clean bed, good coverlet, and a sheet. It was a lot for the poor family to offer, but it was Brother Hatmaker, and they were determined to do their best for him.

When morning came around Brother Hatmaker was still asleep in his comfortable, warm bed. Soon, a tentative knock came at the door. "Brother Hatmaker, time to meet the day," a child's voice in the hall called into the room. Brother Hatmaker rolled over and said in a muffled voice, "A few more minutes, if you please," and was soon fast asleep again.

A few minutes passed and the knock came at the door again, followed by the child's voice; "Reverend Hatmaker, breakfast's almost ready. Won't you come down?"

The minister, barely conscious, said, "Go along now, like a good child. I'll be there directly." He immediately snuggled down into the covers and was snoring in no time.

The child returned to the outer door a third time. This time the voice had a definite pleading tone to it. "Reverend Hatmaker, please, the food's ready to go on the table. Momma says you are to come down to eat." Exasperated at being awoken a third time Brother Hatmaker took a rather short tone with the messenger.

"Tell your mother to go ahead with breakfast without me!"

There was silence for a moment. Then the child spoke again. "Please Reverend, we can't start without you."

Losing all patience, Brother Hatmaker called from under the covers, "I would like to know just why you can't?!!"

In a timid, yet clear voice, the child answered, "Because Ma wants that sheet for a table cloth."

## **The War**

Natives of the Valley do not have to be told which war is *The War*. The Shenandoah Valley suffered more desolation and destruction than any other area of the United States during the American Civil War, not



excluding Sherman's March to the Sea. Yet, with all of the horrors witnessed in this beautiful region, some humorous stories have also survived. Here are a few:

### **An Old Tune**

On May 23, 1862, Union general Nathaniel Banks' army occupied the high ground around Strasburg. This is the narrowest part of the Shenandoah Valley, and Banks, although a political general, knew he held an almost impregnable position. It was known as the *Gibraltar* of the Shenandoah.

Stonewall Jackson and his army had marched north, to the west of the Massanutten Mountain, as if they meant to strike Banks head-on, but upon reaching New Market, Jackson turned the bulk of his troops to the east. They marched through New Market Gap and descended into the Page Valley where they were joined by another Confederate division under Gen. Richard Ewell. Together they were going to strike the Federal garrison at Front Royal.

While Jackson and Ewell were on the move to the east of the Massanutten, a cavalry screen moved northward in the main Valley to convince Banks that the attack was still coming from the south. Part of Col. Turner Ashby's cavalry went ahead of Jackson to get between the Front Royal garrison and the left flank of Banks' force at Strasburg. Jackson wanted to keep word of his attack against Front Royal from getting to Banks for as long as possible. He hoped that Ashby's cavalry would pick up any refugees from the Front Royal action.

When Jackson's and Ewell's attack came against the U.S. troops in Front Royal, it was swift and decisive. Practically the entire 1,000-man garrison was captured. Of those who initially got away and fled toward Strasburg to the west, a few were able to dodge Ashby's horsemen, and get through to Banks.

Soon the first refugee soldier from Front Royal was brought before the general, whose field glasses were still trained to his front. On hearing that Jackson was on his left flank and might even be in his rear by now, Banks refused to believe it. It was not until a few more soldiers from the Front Royal garrison arrived with the same story that Banks began to perceive his untenable position. He became extremely agitated and began issuing orders for an immediate withdrawal along the Valley Turnpike to Winchester. At that time almost every regiment, North and South, had a brass band, and it happened

that one was near the general's headquarters. The musicians had observed Banks' confusion and growing distress as he came to the realization of his dire situation. A band leader, with more of a sense of humor than a regard for his own well being, had his musicians strike up a rousing rendition of, "Oh, Dear, What Can the Matter Be?"

### **The Joke Began at the Battle of First Winchester**

Following General Banks' hasty withdrawal from Strasburg the Federal army got into good positions on hills to the south and east of the town of Winchester. On May 25, 1862, Jackson and Ewell began to feel out the Union lines. It was a foggy morning, which hampered, and later helped the Confederates as they looked for a weak spot to attack in force. In the early morning soldiers on either side could not aim to fire at an adversary. In one moment they thought they saw ghostly forms through the fog, and in the next they would be gone. A great deal of blind firing was occurring.

On the Confederate left, under Jackson's direct command, that general decided on a movement for which he would become justly famous. He ordered an attack against the Federal right flank, which was occupying high ground on a broad, bare hilltop. He selected the Louisiana Brigade and the 10<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment to make the assault. Almost two thousand Confederates moved through the fog across the Federal front. The Union soldiers could hear the marching men, but could not tell the direction they were moving.

When the Louisianans and the Virginians felt they had gone far enough they started up the slope toward the end of the Federal line. Just as they reached the crest, a wind came up and blew the fog away. The Federals were startled as they saw five pelican flags and a Virginia flag unfurling in the breeze. The attack by the Southerners was unstoppable. The Union line was rolled up on itself and began to crumble.

Lt. Col. Francis Nichols was leading the 8<sup>th</sup> Louisiana forward when a bullet smashed into his upper left arm shattering the bone. Later that evening the arm was amputated. Nichols spent the rest of that year and the next winter recuperating. By the spring of 1863 he felt he was ready to return to the army. He was promoted to brigadier general and was given command of a newly formed brigade of Louisiana troops. Nichols' first and, as it would turn out, last battle as a general officer was at Chancellorsville in May of 1863. During the heavy fighting there, while leading his men forward, Nichols was wounded

in the left leg. Once again, the bone was shattered and the leg had to be removed. Gen. Nichols active service to the Confederacy was at an end. He had given a lot of blood, his left arm and left leg to his cause.

In the first years following Reconstruction some of Francis Nichols' friends persuaded him to run for governor of Louisiana. At the convention the speaker rose to his feet and called out to the assembly, "Gentlemen, I would like to nominate for the governorship of the great state of Louisiana . . . all that is left of Gen. Francis Nichols!" Thunderous applause, and laughter, too, followed.

Nichols won the election and served with some distinction during his term of office. After returning to private life for a number of years, he began to think he could be of service again to his state. He would seek appointment to the Louisiana Supreme Court. One day while visiting with an old friend in his study Nichols brought up the subject of his desire to be a justice. His friend looked astonished and said, "Why, Nichols, you can't be a judge!"

The general looked as if he had been struck in the face. He obviously felt insulted by his old friend's comment. "Why can't I?" Nichols sputtered, "I've been a lawyer, soldier of the state, and governor, I might add! I think I'm more than qualified to be on the Supreme Court." His friend laughed and put a soothing hand on Gen. Nichols shoulder, and then said in a matter-of-fact tone, "But you're too one-sided to be a judge."

Gen. Francis Nichols was appointed to the state supreme court, and served faithfully. What began in the heat of battle in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley became a source for humor and pride for the rest of Nichols' life.

### **Out of Harm's Way**

Captain James Bumgartner fought in fifty battles and skirmishes during the Civil War as a member of the 52<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry from Augusta County. He was no headquarters operative, but was, instead, always at the head of his men in every action. He did have a charmed life though; in all those fights he was never wounded or injured, not even a scratch.

When the war ended, he, like so many others, laid down his arms and began the long walk home to put his life back together. It took days for him to get back to Augusta County. He was footsore and hungry by the time he reached the mouth of the lane leading to his par-

ents' house south of Staunton. As he started up the lane his mother spied him from the porch. Recognizing her son, she came running down the lane. They flew into each other's arms with tears streaming down their cheeks. The welcoming embrace did not last long. Mrs. Bumgartner pushed her son away at arms' length and said, "James, you smell awful! Go down to the spring branch and bathe. I'll send some fresh clothes down to you."

So, this veteran of fifty battles and skirmishes, lowered his head in shame and said, "Yes, Momma," and walked down to the branch. Beside the stream he took off his worn shoes, his old uniform, and what was left of his undergarments. The spring branch water was ice-cold to the tentative touch of one of the veteran's big toes, but he had to obey his mother. He put his whole foot in, thought he had a solid place and then proceeded to slip on a rock covered with algae. As he hit the water of the shallow run, he threw out an arm to catch himself, and broke the arm on another rock.

James Bumgartner had come home after four years of war. He looked the hero with his arm in a sling, but when asked about his wound, he could only look embarrassed as he told the story of his homecoming accident.

### **Remembering Grandpa**

I would like to conclude with one of my favorite interviews. A number of years ago I was talking to a man about his memories of running trap lines as a child. In the early twentieth century many boys made pocket money selling furs from animals they trapped and sent to market. In remote areas the furs would be bundled and sent to town with the mailman, who would sell the furs for the boy, and return with the money during his next mail delivery.

Many older men remember buying a Brownie camera, or a pair of skates, or a rifle with the proceeds from the furs from their trap lines. I should also mention that some girls, not to be outdone by their brothers, ran trap lines of their own.

Back to the one particular interview—the man I was speaking with told of how once in a while he would catch a mink or a fox, which bought more than other pelts. The rest of the time he knew he would have mostly possums and skunks. But that was all right, skunks with little white on them were worth more money than the wide banded variety because they could be dyed and made into fake mink coats. An

old rule of thumb was that if you caught both possums and skunks on one run, you skinned the possums first. The fat and grease from the possums helped to block the smell of the skunks from seeping into your hands when you skinned them.

As a boy, the man had learned a lot about woods lore from a favorite grandfather. In fact, the boy and the old man would spend many hours together working the lines and selecting animals from live traps to keep until winter so their coats could grow thick and rich. It was his grandfather who taught him the importance of skunks that were mostly black. A regular skunk pelt only bought a dollar, to a dollar and a half, but one with little or no white fetched three dollars from the buyers. Riding down the road together in the old man's Model A they would often brake for a dead skunk in the road. The old man or his grandson would hop out and retrieve the carcass to skin out later.

From the conversation you could tell that the man was relating the most memorable and wonderful time in his life. You could also tell that he thought his grandfather was the most important older person to take an interest in him during his youth. He had learned a great deal about life and responsibility from his grandfather; like gathering furs, they were skills that continued to serve him well as an adult.

It came to a point when the interview was about to end. The man's eyes visibly began to tear-up. Looking into the distance he said softly, "You know, every time I smell a skunk, I think of Grandpa."

Every time I smell a skunk I think of the person who did not return a borrowed book, but this man was sincere. The scent of a skunk took him back to a happy time as surely as if he had a time machine.

In our everyday lives we encounter humorous situations. Many stay with us and we pass them on to others because they are special to us and we think others will enjoy them as much as we did. If they continue to be passed from person to person they eventually become part of the fabric of what we call *folklife*. The stories become part of the color of our particular era and can become precious to those who follow in our footsteps.

# Index to Death Notices in the *Staunton Spectator* for 1886

## Compiled by Anne C. Kidd

*The **Staunton Spectator** was a weekly four-page newspaper published every Tuesday. Death notices were usually found on the second and third pages. With the publication of this article, Anne Kidd has compiled fifty years of such notices as a service to genealogists and historians interested in the history of Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta County.*

About two weeks ago, Mr. J. Frank ACORD, supposed to have gone from this county, committed suicide in Paris, Mo., and was buried on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November with Masonic honors. Up to the 1<sup>st</sup> of July last, he had been employed as a salesman in employ of W. H. Poage & Co., at which time he gave up that position to run for sheriff of Monroe county. (8 Dec 1886)

Mrs. A. V. ALBY, wife of Mr. John W. ALBY, died Sunday ... at the late residence of her recently deceased father Judge Fultz, near the city, aged 47 years .... member of the First Presbyterian Church .... Rev. Dr. McFarland conducting the service. (8 Dec 1886)

On the 4<sup>th</sup> inst., in Waynesboro' ... Mr. Jas. Franklin ALEXANDER, son of Mr. Wm. Alexander, aged 28 years. (14 Apr 1886)

The Indian trail and first road-way after crossing South River at Waynesboro', ascended Rockfish Gap ,,,, one grave, longer than usual .... is marked .... Robert ALLEN. Deceased October the 25<sup>th</sup>, 1788 in the 47 year of his age. (31 Mar 1886)

Mr. O. W. ANDERSON, aged about 21 years, son of Mr. A. W. Anderson, of the Rockbridge Baths .... [died here] at the Virginia Hotel .... Saturday .... body was taken ... to his home for interment. (20 Oct 1886)

On the 4<sup>th</sup> inst., near Bells Valley, Rockbridge county, Mrs. Sarah ANDREWS, in the 74<sup>th</sup> year of her age. She was the mother of Mr. J. D. Andrews of this county. (15 Dec 1886)

T. D. ANGUS, who came to this neighborhood about two years ago, (we think from Nelson co.), died ... yesterday .... [left] wife .... was about sixty years old. His funeral ... from the Pines Chapel. (2 Jun 1886)

In Greenville on the 13<sup>th</sup> instant ... Mrs. Emma APPLE, wife of Wm. Apple, Esq., aged 44 years .... a sister of Mrs. W. C. Smith, of this city .... member of the Methodist church. (29 Dec 1886)

Mrs. John AREHART, nee Miss Bart, died on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, and was buried at Mt. Carmel Church. (22 Sep 1886)

... Feb 21<sup>st</sup> .... Mrs. Francis ASH, aged about 55 years .... funeral preached at the Baptist church ... by Rev. Mr. Whitesaver .... was the widow of the late Frank Ash, who was accidentally killed four or five years ago, by a moving train at the bridge near the depot in Staunton. (3 Mar 1886)

At her home on Briery Branch, on the 8<sup>th</sup> inst., Miss Rebecca BAKER, in the 79<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... had been a member of the Presbyterian church since 1821, and was probably the oldest church member of the Mossy Creek congregation. (21 Apr 1886)

Mr. H. Cicil BALL, a son-in-law of Dr. W. B. Goode, of this city, died ... in Richmond last Sunday .... his life was insured for ... \$10,000 in the NY Mutual Life Insurance Company. (26 May 1886)

In Mint Spring, VA, March 6<sup>th</sup> ... Albert Coe BALLEW, son of Jas. L. and Nannie A. Ballew ... aged two years, 11 months, and 15 days. (17 Mar 1886)

... the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, near New Hope in this county ... Mrs. Minnie E. BEARD, nee Mowry, in the 35<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... a member of the M. E. Church, South .... interred at Augusta Church .... Rev. Mr. Laird, of Mt. Horeb Church, officiating. (4 Aug 1886)

A few weeks since, Captain William B. BERRY, a conductor on the passenger trains of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, who formerly resided in Richmond, came up to this city .... with his wife and children, was at the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. James W. Blackburn .... died on ... the 20<sup>th</sup> .... buried from the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Rev. J. S. Gardner conducting the funeral services. He leaves a widow and four children .... was a member of the Brotherhood of Conductors and also of the Knights of Honor. (25 Aug 1886)

For some years, the late Mr. Robert G. BICKLE had been in feeble health, and since the death of his wife [\_\_\_\_ BICKLE], which occurred in the early part of 1885, had been but seldom observed on the streets .... [died] on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, in the 69<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... On his maternal side ... was descended from an old .... Rockbridge family, and he bore the name of his grandfather, Robert Gold. He was born in Lexington where his grandfather and a brother were merchants .... When a child, his family removed to Staunton .... At the corner of Beverly and Market streets, in a building erected in 1805 ... he made his start in life .... He ... had a life-insurance of \$22,000. He served ... in the office of Magistrate, Councilman and Mayor .... Rev. Dr. McFarland conducted the funeral services. (15 Sep 1886)

.... David BLACKWOOD, Esq. who resided on the Valley road three miles north of Greenville, died on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant ... in the eighty-sixth year of his age, having completed his 85<sup>th</sup> year on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant .... was born about 1 ½ miles from the place on which he resided ... served as a Magistrate under the constitution of 1829-'30 .... an Elder of Bethel Church, and never married .... buried at Pilson's burying ground, Rev. Dr. Murrey, of Bethel Church. (27 Dec 1886)

Mr. Timberlake, of the village [Fishersville] was summoned ... on Wednesday morning last to Greenville, as was Mr. Timberlake of your town, to the bedside of their uncle, Mr. Thomas BOWEN, who died that evening. (28 Apr 1886)

The wife, \_\_\_\_\_ BROWN, of Chas. Brown, a highly respected colored man, died near here \* last week. (10 Mar 1886) \*[Middlebrook]

At his residence near Waynesboro'. August 23<sup>rd</sup>, Mr. Jonathan BROWN, aged 87 years. (1 Sep 1886)

On the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, near Greenville, Mrs. Nancy BROWNLEE in the 95<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... buried at Bethel, Rev. Dr. Murray officiating .... was the mother of Mr. John Brownlee and sister of Messrs Francis and Samuel Bell. (15 Dec 1886)

Mrs. L. A. CAVADALLY, an aged lady of New Orleans who was at the Alum Springs ... died there on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, and was buried in this city on the 3<sup>rd</sup> .... was a native of Virginia. (8 Sep 1886)

Died at her late residence in this city last Monday ... Mrs. Mary E. [CHAPMAN], widow of the late Alfred Chapman. The funeral services were held from Trinity Episcopal Church. (21 Apr 1886)

Miss Ann Maria CHEWING, formerly of Orange county, whose home was in the western part of this city, died on the 15<sup>th</sup> instant, aged 78 years .... Rev. J. S. Gardner conducting the funeral service. (22 Sept 1886)

... Mr. A. K CLAYTON of Marble Valley in this county, died last Monday .... an Elder in the Presbyterian Church. He leaves a widow and three or four children. (1 Dec 1886)

Mrs. Carrie B. COINER, wife of Captain C. Benton Coiner, died on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant. The funeral services were at Tinkling Spring Church ... by Rev. Jno. A. Preston, Pastor. (6 Oct 1886)

Miss Maria E. COOKE, of this city, daughter of the late Mr. W. D. Cooke, died in Richmond at the residence of her brother-in-law, Mr. James Gordon, on ... the 26<sup>th</sup> .... Her remains were brought up [here] .... services from the First Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr. McFarland officiating. (29 Dec 1886)

Mr. Dabney COSBY, Jr. died ... last Tuesday at the residence of this father, at Halifax Court-house .... Mr. Cosby taught school at hermitage, in this county, last session. (1 Sep 1886)

Mrs. Mary COWAN died on Tuesday evening of last week, at the residence of her brother, Dr. Wm. Hamilton, for thirty-odd years Assistant Physician at the W. L. Asylum. (14 Jul 1886)

Mrs. Margaret A. [CRAWFORD], widow of the late Colonel James Crawford,



died at the residence of ther son-in-law, Mr. H. P. Dickinson, near this city on ... the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant, in the 86<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... was a daughter of Major William Bell. One sister .... survives her, Mrs. Julia A. Arbuckle, of Greenbrier county, W. Va. .... Mrs. John W. Churchman, Mrs. Wayt Bell, Mrs. H. P. Dickenson, and Mr. Wm. H. Crawford are children ... who survive her .... [member of] the First Presbyterian church of this city ... Rev. Dr. Hawes conducting the services .... Colonel Crawford was a soldier in the war of 1812. (27 Oct 1886)

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, Tommie [CROWDER], infant son of Capt. T. J. and B. V. Crowder died ... aged two months and 20 days. (28 Jul 1886)

Mrs. Lucy [DINWIDDIE], wife of Mr. Marshall Dinwiddie, agent of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway at Swoope, died Wednesday of last week .... body taken to Greenwood, Albemarle co., for interment in the family cemetery. (14 Apr 1886)

Mrs. Rice DUNLAP died at the residence of her husband on Friday last .... leaves a husband and some small children, Middlebrook News. (7 Apr 1886)

On the 4<sup>th</sup> instant ... at his residence at Sink's Grove, Monroe Co., W. Va., Mr. George W. DUNSMORE aged 61 years, the father of Prof. J. G. Dunsmore, of Dunsmore's Business College of this city. (11 Aug 1886)

... on the 20<sup>th</sup> inst., Mrs. EARHART, died near Spotswood, in this county. Her mother, Mrs. Mary HART, died in the same house on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May last, aged 83 years. Her daughter, Miss Nettie EARHART, died on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, last, aged 18 years. (29 Sep 1886)

Mr. J. C. ECHARD of Staunton died at Chatham, the county seat of Pittsylvania ... on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, in the 67<sup>th</sup> year of his age. He had been principally employed ... in soliciting business for the insurance companies of this city .... leaves a widow and several children .... died at Mrs. S. J. Payne's boarding house. (10 Nov 1886)

Death of Jacob Ruff ECKLE ... at his home, near Lexington, Missouri, on the 14<sup>th</sup> inst. .... was a native of this city, and was a son of the late Peter Eckle. He was born in this city January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1814, and was in the 73<sup>rd</sup> year of his age. At an early age he removed himself to the West where he engaged in business, and has ever since resided .... connected himself with the Methodist Church .... leaves a sister, Mrs. Rebecca Grove of this city, and a brother, W. K. Eckle, Esq., of Knoxville, Tennessee, and a wife and a family of children. His funeral took place in Lexington, Missouri, from the M. E. Church South ... conducted by the Rev. D. C. Browne. (30 Jun 1886)

Mr. David ELLINGER who resided a few miles South of this city died ... the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, aged eighty years .... buried at Mt. Tabor Church ... Rev. W. H. Settlemyer rendering the religious services. (8 Dec 1886)

On Saturday last, Mrs. John ENGLEMAN, died at her residence near this place ... was interred ... at St. John's Church, Rev. Gambert offication. Middlebrook News. (23 Jun 1886)

Mr. William C. ESKRIDGE died ... in the 69<sup>th</sup> year of his age ... at his residence in this city on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June ... the Paying Teller of this [Augusta National] .... born and reared in this community .... funeral was from Trinity Episcopal Church, Rev. W. Q. Hullihen, Rector. (23 Jun 1886)

Judge David FALLS died at his residence near this city ... the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, having passed his 84<sup>th</sup> year of his life .... a native of Amherst, his father residing at that time in the neighborhood of Rose's Mills ....in Early life came with his father to Augusta county ... was admitted to the bar of the Augusta courts. In 1825, he married Miss Margaret, the daughter of Jacob Leese, and honored citizen of Staunton .... About 1830, he removed to Bath county ... and returned to Staunton in 1840 .... he was first associated ... with Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, and afterwards with Colonel Bolivar Christian, in practicing law .... in 1869 appointed Judge of this Circuit .... In 1873, he was placed on the State tickets of the Republican party for the office of Attorney-General .... interment at Thornrose cemetery, Rev. Dr. McFarland officiating .... Surviving the deceased ... are several children—Capt. A. H. Algernon, Hugh H., Marshall R., and Dr. J. H. Fultz, and Mrs. J. W. Alby and Mrs. Fred Fultz. (1 Sep 1886)

An abandoned woman about twenty-one years of age who called herself Eva WILSON, but whose real name was Lana FARARA .... died yesterday morning .... came here from Richmond last Aug. Her mother, whose name is Bullock, resides in Richmond. (8 Dec 1886)

Doctor Archibald Magill FAUNTLEROY ... died at his residence in this city June 19<sup>th</sup>, was born in Warrenton, Fauquier county, Va., July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1836. His youth was passed at the Military Posts in Texas and upon the western frontier, which were commanded by his father, the late General Thomas T. Fauntleroy, the then Colonel of the U. S. Dragoons. He entered the Virginia Institute in August 1853, and graduated, with distinction in 1857. After a preliminary course at the University of Virginia, he graduated in the Medical department of the University of Pennsylvania and, having passed a rigid examination by the Board of Army Surgeons, he was commissioned as Assistant Surgeon in the U. S. Army, and was stationed at Fort Laramie, then one of the most remote Northwestern frontier Posts. There, in April 1851, he resigned his commission ... and made his way ... [to] Richmond .... [where] he was commissioned by Gov. Latcher and accepted the invitation of Gen. Jos. E. Johnston to take the place of Chief of his medical staff .... [organized] Hospitals at Danville ... and ... Staunton where he remained until the end of the war .... Upon the death of Dr. Baldwin, he was elected to fill his place as Superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum .... he lay down to die in his 50<sup>th</sup> year .... Funeral services ... by the Rev. W. Q. Hullihen, Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church ... body was conveyed ... to Winchester for interment .... Judge Fauntleroy ... from Wytheville ... accompanied the members of his brother's family to Winchester. (23 Jun & 11 Aug 1886)

... at the Hale House ... Mr. William Willis FITZ ... yesterday .... a brother of Mr. J. M. Fitz, one of the proprietors of the hotel, and Capt. J. R. Fitz of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, and was forty-seven years of age .... the body will be buried at "Aspen Hill" ...in the old family burying ground [in Albemarle County]. (11 Aug 1886)

At his residence near Greenville ... Feb. 28<sup>th</sup> ... Capt. Jno. H. FIX, aged 65 years, and 11 months .... had been for 10 years a member of Mt. Carmel Church. (17 Mar 1886)

Mrs. Mary FLINN, a native of Ireland, who lived for the past 25 years in Harrisonburg, died in Washington city on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, at the advanced age of 100 years, and was buried in Thornrose Cemetery in this city from the Catholic church on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant .... married at age of 35 years, and was the mother of three daughters, two of whom are living – the eldest being 65 years old and still living. (14 Jul 1886)

Robert FLOYD, who lived near Neriah Church died .... the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant .... was about 40 years of age. (31 Mar 1886)

Mrs. Sarah [FOLEY], wife of A. J. Foley, died at her residence near here on the 19<sup>th</sup> inst. .... leaves a family of several children of tender age. Parnassus Items. (23 June 1886)

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, at the residence of her parents, Mary Moore [FOSTER], youngest child of James J. and Rebecca P. Foster, aged 3 years and 21 days. (17 Nov 1886)

On last Wednesday ... Mr. Addison FRAZIER ... died in this city at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Richard Summerson, in the 88<sup>th</sup> year of his age. Most of his life was spent in Greenbrier county .... His wife died in the same house a few years since .... remains were buried in Thornrose Cemetery .... funeral services were performed by Rev. J. S. Gardner, Pastor of the M. E. Church South. Mr. and Mrs. Frazier had been .... members of the Methodist Church for many years. (7 Apr 1886)

Mr. Hugh L. GALLAHER, Sen'r ... died at his residence near Waynesboro' ... on the 11<sup>th</sup> inst., in the 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... His two sons, D. C. and Chas. M. Gallaher ... reside in Charleston, Kanawha county, W. Va. .... More than forty years ago, he built several sections of the James River and Kanawha Canal when that improvement was extended west of Lynchburg. (15 Dec 1886)

Mrs. Mary Jane GARBER, widow of the late Albert G. Garber, died at the residence of her son-in-law, Mr. Arista Hoge, yesterday ... in the 75<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... funeral from Trinity Episcopal Church. (8 Dec 1886)

On Saturday ... last ... William GARDNER .... was killed by William Blackwell at Blackwell's still-house. (27 Oct 1886)

Mr. GILKESON, who resided near McClung's Mill, was buried Sunday last at Bethel Church .... for many years a member of the Presbyterian Church. Middlebrook News. (15 Sep 1886)

At "Broadhead", her home, in this county, Sept. 18<sup>th</sup>, Mrs. H. N. GILKESON .... buried at Bethel, the funeral conducted by Rev. Dr. Murray. (29 Sep 1886)

....Colonel William S. GILMAN .... [in] Richmond ... on the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst. ... was fifty-four years old .... was born and reared in Fredericksburg .... there are living two sisters – Mrs. Robt. W. Burke, of Staunton, and Mrs. R. N. Cox, of Washington .... The funeral ceremonies took place ... from Trinity Episcopal Church, Rev. Mr. Hullihen, Rector officiating. Staunton Lodge of Masons attended in a body. ....graduated at Judge Brockenbrough's Law School in Lexington .... taught school in Essex county ....journalist upon the Recorder, a Democratic paper of ....[Fredericksburg] .... After this ... [on] the staff of the Register in Wheeling .... made first Lieut. of the Grays of ...[Fredericksburg] which in 1861, was placed in the 30<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry .... in 1862 ... was for awhile in the Confederate Treasury department till 1863, when he was employed upon the staff of the Richmond Whig .... 1871 ... chosen one of the members, from Richmond, of the House of Delegates ... for six years .... His services for the Dispatch at Washington commenced about 1876, and continued until he was appointed as assistant ... Collector of Internal Revenue in the Richmond District. (6 Oct 1886)

The good templars of this village will hold a memorial service ... April 11<sup>th</sup>, in honor of the Hon. John B. GOUGH, dec'd. Middlebrook News. (7 Apr 1886) ... held in Lutheran Church. (14 Apr 1886)

Death of Mrs. John A. GRAHAM ... wife of Dr. John A. Graham of ... [Lexington] ... passed away on the 17<sup>th</sup> ult. ... the daughter of Col. Wm. M. Tate, of Augusta. (7 Apr 1886)

Mr. S. R. GREEN, who was removed from this county to the Western Lunatic Asylum several weeks ago, died in that institution ... July 21<sup>st</sup>. Mr. Green came to Alleghany in the employ of Mr. E. M. Nettleton, as farm manager on the Falling Spring farm .... more than a year ago .... member of the Methodist Church .... leaves a wife and one child. His remains will be interred at his old home in Rockbridge county. - Alleghany Sentinel. (28 Jul 1886)

In this city on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant ... John Luther GREEVER, son of John D. Greever, Esq., age 2 years and six months. (15 Sep 1885)

Mrs. Sophia GREGORY, widow of John Gregory, dec'd, died last Saturday [a week] at the residence of her son-in-law, J. Addison Whitmore, Esq., in the 80<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... member of the Baptist Church. The remains were taken to Sangersville and laid to rest beside those of her husband and son. Rev. G. R. Jefferson, of the M. E. Church South, conducted the funeral services. Parnassus Items. (4 Aug 1886)

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of August last, at his home near Marepol, Cal., in the 65<sup>th</sup> year of his age, James Rankin GROVE ....born and raised at the old Grove homestead, near Summerdean, this county .... Several years ago he left Virginia to found a new home in California. (15 Sep 1886)

Mrs. Elizabeth GUTHRIE, widow of the late Hugh Guthrie, Esq....died at her late residence, near Fishersville, last Saturday ... in the 71<sup>st</sup> year of her age. She had recently visited Atlanta, Ga., spending the winter in the family of her former Pastor, Rev. Dr. Strickler...was buried at Tinkling Spring Church, Rev. J. A. Preston, Pastor.(5 May 1886)

Mr. William GUTHRIE died at his residence near Tinkling Spring Church ... the 20<sup>th</sup> instant in the 90<sup>th</sup> year of his age ... Rev. John A. Preston, will conduct the funeral service. (22 Sep 1886)

Mr. N. W. HAINES, a brother of Messrs. Chas. E. and Robert C. Haines, died ... at his residence in this city ... the 5<sup>th</sup> inst. ... in the 52<sup>nd</sup> year of his age .... was engaged in selling newspapers and magazines near the Ches. & Ohio Depot. (12 May 1886)

At his residence near Bowling Mill, on Middle River ... April 24<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Jacob A. HALDEMAN, Sen., aged 82 years, 8 months, and 6 days .... member of the German baptist Church, and leaves two sons, Messrs. Martin A. and Jacob Haldeman, and three daughters, Mrs. Isaac Hoy, of Madison county, Mrs. Frank J. Houff of Augusta county, and Mrs. Churchman of Tennessee. (28 Apr & 5 May 1886)

On August 31<sup>st</sup>, May [HALDEMAN], infant daughter of M. A. and T. V. Haldeman, aged 2 months and 20 days. (15 Sep 1886)

The coal and water station known as "Brand's" is three miles East of this city, on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway. Wm. H. HALK, aged about sixty years, was in charge of the pump supplying the tank with water. He had been in the service of the Company twenty years or more .... His home is in the west end of the city, where he leaves a wife and four children. Yesterday .... a through freight, No. 25 .... shoved him aside .... causing instant death .... body was taken to the undertaking rooms of Bickle & Hamrick ... then conveyed to his residence. The interment ... in Thornrose Cemetery. (5 May 1886)

Tribute of Respect .... Miss Mollie HANGER ... died October 24<sup>th</sup> ... age 19 years .... [leaves] father, our brother, and ... mother and sisters. John H Rush, Sec'y Churchville Lodge 157, I.O.G.T. (10 Nov 1886)

William A. [HANGER], son of Dr. John M. Hanger, of this city, died in Kansas City, Mo., on the 21<sup>st</sup> inst. ... in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... at the residence of Mr. Newton A. Baylor formerly of Augusta County .... was a clerk in the wholesale boot and shoe store of S. W. Cosgrove & Co. .... burial will take place from Dr. Hanger's residence. (24 Nov 1886)

On the 9<sup>th</sup> instant, at the residence of Mr. Lewis Wiseman, her son-in-law, near Arbor Hill in this county, Mrs. Margaret HAROUFF in the 78<sup>th</sup> year of her age .... buried at Mt. Tabor Church. (15 Dec 1886)

Mr. Samuel HARRIS, formerly Treasurer of the state of Texas, who died ... at the White Sulphur on the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, spent last winter in this city at the Kalorama House. His late home was with his brother, Mr. W. H. Harris of Batesville, Albemarle county .... was a native of Nelson county, and the late James M. Harris, who formerly represented that county in Legislature, was another brother. (8 Sep 1886)

Mary HART – See Mrs. EARHART

Near Steele's Tavern, Augusta county ... May 10<sup>th</sup> ... Mrs. Polly HART, widow of the late Jacob Hart, at the advanced age of 82 years .... member of Mt. Carmel (Presbyterian) Church. (12 May 1886)

In Waynesboro' Monday of last week at the house of Bernard Early (colored) .... Ed Baldwin, ... [brother of Wm. Henry Baldwin killed] Henry HARVEY. (7 Jul 1886)

Mr. E. A. HENDERSON died at his late residence near Staunton on the 27<sup>th</sup> inst., aged 35 years .... leaves a widow .... buried at Hebron Church .... Rev. L. B. Johnston, pastor, conducting the funeral services. (29 Dec 1886)

... Mr. Fenton M. HENDERSON ... for many years filled the position of commissioner in chancery in Leesburg, Loudoun county, died at the Western Lunatic Asylum on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October .... was a vestryman ... of St. James' Episcopal Church. During the war he was a member of the Loudoun Guard. J (3 Nov 1886)

Miss Susan HITE died at the residence of her brother near Newport last week. Middlebrook News. (25 Aug 1886)

Mrs. Elizabeth W. HOPKINS, widow of the late Dr. S. D. Hopkins, died at the residence of Mr. Newton Argenbright in this city on ... the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, in the 73<sup>rd</sup> year of her age .... maiden name was Ball, and she was a native of Richmond .... funeral from the Methodist Church .... Rev. J. S. Gardner, pastor, assisted by Rev. Dr. Hawes .... Dr. Hopkins was residing in this city ... at the time of their marriage in 18\_\_, but subsequently removed to Fincastle where, in connection with George Harlan, Esq., now of this city, he conducted the Fincastle Democrat ... returned here in 1876. (8 Dec 1886)

Mr. Geo. H. HUDSON ... Commissioner of the Revenue for the city of Staunton for the past 18 years, died ... the 4<sup>th</sup> inst., aged 58 years and 10 months, leaving a widow and eight children – four sons and four daughters .... His elder brother, Mr. Wm. Hudson, died just 5 weeks and 2 days before he did. The deceased moved from Albemarle county to this city in 1845 when he was but 14 years of age .... He entered the Confederate service with the Staunton Artillery at the beginning of the war ... lost a leg at the battle of Fisher's Hill in Shenandoah County in September 1861, at which time he was captured and taken a prisoner to Point Lookout .... funeral services ... performed by Rev. Mr. Settemeyer, pastor of the Lutheran Church of Staunton. His remains .... conveyed ... to Thornrose Cemetery by the Masons and Staunton Artillery, the procession being led by the Stonewall Brigade Band .... The deceased was a soldier in the Stonewall Brigade. (9 Jun 1886)

... unexpected death of Mr. Jas. W. HUDSON, the father of Judge Wm. A. Hudson of this city ... the 21<sup>st</sup>, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. John E. Hamilton near Fishersville, in the 73<sup>rd</sup> year of his age .... funeral services were conducted by Rev. John A. Preston and Rev. Dr. D. K. McFarland ... buried in Thornrose Cemetery. (28 Apr 1886)

An infant child [\_\_\_\_HUMPHRIES] of Mr. and Mrs. Humphries died on Monday of last week. Middlebrook News. (7 Apr 1886)

At his residence in this city ... the 18<sup>th</sup> ... Mr. F. O. HYDENREICH, aged 65 years. (26 May 1886)

David JACKSON died at Churchville, Va., on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July ... in his 86<sup>th</sup> year .... born in ... August in the last year of the 18<sup>th</sup> century ... member of the United Brethren Church. (11 Aug 1886)

Mrs. Cecilia JAMES, the grandmother of Mr. Frank Kingan, of this city, died in Talcott, W. Va. ... the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, aged about 73 years .... was a native of Wales. (11 Aug 1886)

Mrs. John JESSER died ... the 9<sup>th</sup> instant ... in the fiftieth year of her age .... Rev. Mr. Settlemyer, of the Lutheran Church, conducted the services. (16 Jun 1886)

Mr. E. F. JOHNSON, a life-long citizen of Staunton, died Sunday, aged fifty-five years ... was formerly engaged in the Cabinet business. (7 Jul 1886)

Bessie [JONES], eldest daughter of Mr. Samuel D. and Mrs. Mary Jones, died at the residence of her parents near Churchville, on the 16<sup>th</sup> inst. .... remains laid to rest in the family section at Emanuel church near Sangersville. Parnassus Items. (1 Sep 1886 ... August 26<sup>th</sup>, Sarah Elizabeth [JONES] ... aged 8 years, 8 months and 10 days. (8 Sep 1886)

At Spring Hill, March 3<sup>rd</sup>, Mr. Wm. JONES, aged 86 years, 3 months, and 23 days. (10 Mar 1886)

At Churchville, August 31<sup>st</sup> ... Sarah Margaret [JORDAN], infant child of Mr. J. M. Jordan. (8 Sep 1886)

At his home, near Churchville, August 15<sup>th</sup> ... Edward JOSEPH. (18 Aug 1886)

... Mr. B. F. KEMPER ... [died] at the residence of his son, Mr. F. L. Kemper, near Port Republic, Rockingham co., on the 11<sup>th</sup> instant .... age 74 years .... member of the Methodist church .... a son of the late Dr. Geo. W. Kemper of Port Republic, and a brother of Dr. Geo. W. Kemper of Rockingham; Mrs. David S. Young of this city, and Prof. Chas. J. Kemper of Louisa. Two sons survive him – Mr. F. L. Kemper near Port Republic and Capt. C. M. Kemper of Nelson county .... interred in the old family burial ground at Port Republic. (17 Nov 1886)

At his residence in Wytheville, on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant, Col. Jos. F. KENT, in the 67<sup>th</sup> year of his age. During the war he was the gallant commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Va. Regiment Stonewall Brigade ... was the father of Mrs. Geo. M. Harrison, of this city. (15 Sep 1886)

Mrs. Green KERR, nee Gay, died Sunday. Middlebrook. (28 Apr 1886)

Death of Mr. Samuel X. KERR ... last ... Friday, in the seventy-second year of his age. Mr. Kerr was one of several brothers who were active farmers and business men residing near Middlebrook. A few years ago, he sold his farm and removed to this city .... He leaves a widow .... funeral was from his residence Saturday ... Rev. Dr. McFarland officiating. (24 Mar 1886)

Death of Chesley KINNEY, Esq., Stribling Springs, July 10<sup>th</sup> ... in his sixty-seventh year ... son of the late Nicholas C. Kinney, of Staunton, where Chesley was born and reared to manhood .... was married to Miss Bettie Bell, of your city, daughter of the late James Bell, who was also father to Major H. M. Bell, of your city, and Col. David S. Bell, of this County. Mrs. Kinney died soon after the war .... was the mother of ... two sons and two daughters, only two of whom survive her, Miss Lizzie and James Bell Kinney. Mr. Kinney married a second time, his last wife having been Mrs. Josephine Wickliff, formerly Miss Allen and sister to the late Mrs. Judge Guigon, of Richmond. Mr. Kinney became owner of the Augusta Springs in 1857, and then changed the name to Stribling Springs in honor of a former owner, the late Erasmus Stribling. Mr. K. served his county as a Magistrate .... was buried in this city ... [from] Trinity Episcopal Church. (14 Jul 1886)

April 2<sup>nd</sup>, at her home in Augusta Co., Va., Mrs. Margaret Hall KYLE, wife of Robt. M. Kyle, in the 58<sup>th</sup> year of her year. (28 Apr 1886)

Wm. Frank KYLE, a native of this county, died on the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. ... at the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Jas. A. McClung in Covington, Va., in the 32<sup>nd</sup> year of his age. He removed to Culpeper when a boy, and remained there 12 years ... in the mercantile business .... in company with his brother, invested in property in Florida ... settling in Orlando, Orange county .... his brother, Mr. Washington Kyle. (20 Oct 1886)

Mrs. LACKEY, aged 73 years, wife of Nathan Lackey, dec'd, was buried at Timber Ridge. (11 Aug 1886)

Near Churchville, 18<sup>th</sup> of May, Frank A. [LACKEY] only child of A. M. and H. M. Lackey, aged 7 months and 7 days. (26 May 1886)

Mrs. Margaret A. LAREW, wife of Mr. J. J. Larew, near Greenville ... died at the residence of her husband Sunday ... in the 65<sup>th</sup> year of her age. The interment was at Bethel Church ... Rev. Dr. Murray conducting the services. (22 Sep 1886)

Mrs. Martha LEVY, relict of the late Jacob A. Levy, and mother of Mrs. Alex. Hart, of this city, died in Richmond last Saturday, aged 77 years. (26 May 1886)

On August 7<sup>th</sup>, near Churchville ... George Roy [LIGHTNER] infant son of W. T. and Madora M. Lightner, aged 3 months and 15 days. (18 Aug 1886)

... 9<sup>th</sup> instant, General Robert D. LILLEY ... [of] this city .... [died in Richmond] at St. Luke Home for the sick ... on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant .... Mr. James A. Templeton, of this city (his brother-in-law) and Colonel John D. Lilley, of Greenville



his brother .... General Lilley was the eldest of three brothers, sons of the late Colonel James M. Lilley .... One brother, James C. is a civil engineer, and for several years has resided in Mexico where he is in service of the Mexican Central Railroad ... Jas. D. ... engaged in agriculture. Four sisters also survive – Mrs. Samuel M. Templeton of Rockbridge; Mrs. James A. Templeton, of this city; Mrs. James F. Tapscot of Buckingham, and Mrs. Colonel J. B. Brown, of Florida. He never married, and was fifty years of age .... When hostilities commenced .... he raised a company of volunteers, principally from Greenville ... and was chosen its Captain .... His company with other organizations formed the 25<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Infantry ... was shortly ... made Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment .... finally placed at the head of the brigade which Gen'l John Pegram had commanded. (17 & 24 Nov 1886)

Rev. Solomon J. LOVE, who was pastor of Hebron Church in this county, for 18 years preceeding 1859, died on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, in Kansas City, Mo., where he lived with his children. (1 Sep 1886)

On the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, Mrs. Mary Ella LOVING, wife of Mr. O. W. Loving, died at her residence, in this place ... in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of her age. She left two little children, one two years and 5 months old and the other 7 months, and ... husband .... a daughter of the late Mr. A. Knowles. (13 Oct 1886)

Miss Lucy A. LUMPKIN, for five years a pupil in the Deaf-mute Department ... [died] at home ... on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June .... Goodson Gazette of the D. D. & Blind Institution. (15 Sept 1886)

Mr. Samuel H. LUSHBOUGH, an old and respected citizen ... died ... the 4<sup>th</sup> instant .... a member of the First Presbyterian Church, and also of the Masonic Order .... Rev. Dr. McFarland conducted the religious services. (8 Dec 1886)

On Saturday week, a young man named Wm. MAHONE, whose home was in Lynchburg, and who was engaged at work at the Crimora Mines in this county .... was ... killed. (22 Sep 1886)

... Lillie May [MANN] ... daughter of Mr. William A. Mann, of Augusta ... died at her father's residence on the 11<sup>th</sup> inst., in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of her age. Last season Miss Mann taught school in the family of Capt. W. F. Pearson of Rockbridge ... member of the Presbyterian church. (22 Dec 1886)

Mr. Reuben Martz, of Norborne, Missouri, has returned to his father's, Mr. M. Martz, with his infant child. His wife [\_\_\_\_ MARTZ] died several months ago. Parnassus Items. (8 Sep 1886)

In Lexington, KY, on the 16<sup>th</sup> instant ... Mrs. Mollie J. MAYS, wife of A. B. Mays, formerly of Staunton .... was a sister of Mrs. J. V. Grinstead, of Lexington, Va. (28 Apr 1886)

James McCOMB, who resided on the Eastern side of the county, died on \_\_\_\_ inst., in the 49<sup>th</sup> year of his age. (8 Sep 1886)

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of last May, the Spectator referred to the fact that on that day Mr. William McCOMB, residing on the farm, near Barterbrook, where he was born and reared, would celebrate the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of his birth. In less than two months ... was called to his final rest .... was the son of James McComb who came from County Down, Ireland, and settled where the son died .... His death occurred on 21<sup>st</sup> ... buried at Tinkling Spring Church ... his sister, Mrs. Wright, who resides at Arbor Hill, aged ninety years, was visiting him. Mr. McComb was the last of the survivors of the men of Augusta who responded to the call for the defence of the State in 1812 .... member of Capt. Jesse Dold's Company of Cavalry. (28 Jul 1886) .... 92 years, 1 month and 17 days .... his father emigrated to this country ... 1780 and settled on Christian's Creek in this county. He married Susan Henderson, the result of this union being ... William, James, Alexander, Joseph, Susan and Elizabeth, two of whom still survive, Joseph McComb, of Stuarts Draft, aged 76, and Elizabeth Wright ... aged 90; she is a pensioner of the War of 1812. Wm. McComb ... married a Miss Hughes, the daughter of the late Moses Hughes, of Nelson Co. (Wm., James, and Joseph married sisters.) Their issue were James, Andrew, Reeves, and Fannie McComb, Mrs. Webb of Texas, Mrs. Witt of Nelson Co., and Mrs. Farrow, who lives on the old homestead .... At his death he owned both the McComb and Henderson properties which he left unencumbered .... His wife survives him aged 70 .... was uncle of Mrs. Chas. Palmer and Jas. K. McComb of Staunton. (28 Aug 1886)

In Lynchburg on the 22<sup>nd</sup> ult., Mr. John J. McMAHON, about 45 years of age, son of Maj. Ed. McMahon, of this city .... leaves a widow and six small children. (2 Jun 1886)

... Mrs. Julia [McMAHON], wife of Major Edward McMahon .... [died] the 24<sup>th</sup>. The funeral was ... from St. Francis Catholic Church. Rev. Fathers McVey and Kelley conducting the services. (27 Oct 1886)

Samuel McNABB ... died Sunday .... near the Opera House .... His body was conveyed to the residence of his mother, at which place the funeral ceremonies were held .... by Rev. J. S. Gardner .... a member of the Augusta Fire Company. The three fire companies attended the burial .... leaves a wife and one child .... life insured for one thousand dollars. (14 Apr 1886)

A. A. McPHETERS, Esq., died at his late residence near Arbor Hill, Saturday ... in the 70<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... long a member of Hebron Church .... buried at Bethel .... Rev. F. N. Gaines, now of Falling Spring Church, Rockbridge co., and a former pastor at Hebron ... and in connection with Rev. L. B. Johnston, of Hebron, and Rev. Dr. Jas. Murray, of Bethel, conducted the funeral services. (5 May 1886)

Mrs. Susan Meeks, a venerable lady of this place, 90 years of age ... knows the history of these graves (near Waynesboro). Robert ALLEN, whose tombstone still bears the record of his death, was the uncle of her husband, Robert A. Meek .... The Robert Allen who was buried on the spur of the mountain was the son of Robert Allen, the first settler on the adjoining land. Mrs. Meek has an old book, which belonged to the elder Robert Allen, her husband's grandfather, on a

fly-leaf ... "Robert Allen was born in the year 1774", (Signed James Allen: .... Montague Allen ... made the deed, which finally alienated the land from the family .... he then lived in the Pastures, over the North Mountain. (12 May 1886)

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, near Mt. Sidney ... Mrs. Rebecca MILLER, wife of Mr. Daniel Miller .... and the sister of Revs. Abram and Levi Garber, and Mr. Jacob Garber of the Tunker Church. (4 Aug 1886)

Died at the Western Lunatic Asylum ... 31<sup>st</sup> ult., Mr. Paul A. MIX, aged thirty-nine years .... a native of Dantale, Prussia, and was trained to the business of a jeweler and watch-maker. About ten years ago, he came to this city, and for some time worked for Mr. Gabriel Hirsh. Afterwards he engaged in business for himself .... married a daughter [of] Mr. A. Blauth of Greenville. His wife and six children survive him. His life was insured in the Valley Mutual for \$1000, and in the Jewelry League Association of New York for \$5000. His body was ... buried in Thornrose cemetery .... Rev. Mr. Settlemyer, pastor of the Lutheran church conducted the services. (4 Aug 1886)

At the residence of her son-in-law, J. T. Black ... on the 4<sup>th</sup> inst., Mrs. Hannah M. MOFFETT, widow of Robt. S. Moffett, in the 81<sup>st</sup> year of her age. (17 Mar 1886)

Miss Laura E. MONEYMAKER, daughter of Eli Moneymaker, died at Hundley's Mills, Feb. 28<sup>th</sup> and was buried at Union Church ... in the twenty-eighth year of her age. Rev. H. C. Walker conducted the service .... member of the Baptist Church. (3 & 10 Mar 1886)

Mr. James Nelson MONTGOMERY, departed this life at his home ... in Lewisburg, W. Va. ... the 7<sup>th</sup> of June .... was born in the county of Augusta, Va., in ... 1818, and was in the 68<sup>th</sup> year of his age. He lost his father when he was young, and he, with a number of other children, were left to the care ... of ... mother and maternal uncle, Mr. James Nelson, in whose house he made his home for some years .... a member of the old Augusta or Stone Church ... under the ministrations of Drs. Conrad Speece, and William Brown, and afterwards of the 1<sup>st</sup> Presbyterian Church of Richmond, under Dr. Wm. B. Plumere. He came to Lewisburg about ... 1845, and was .... member of the merchantile firm of Bell & Montgomerys. In ... 1854, he was ... elected the Teller of [the Lewisburg branch of the Farmers' Bank of Virginia] .... a Ruling Elder in the Presbyterian Church of Lewisburg and the clerk of the Session. (16 Jun 1886)

... 7<sup>th</sup> instant, Rev. Dr. MURDAUGH, rector of St. George's Church in Fredericksburg, died in that city. Mr. A. C. Murdaugh, who recently became a salesman in Mr. W. L. Ollviers's Book-Store is a son of the deceased. (10 Nov 1886)

Mrs. Nellie R. [NELSON], wife of William J. Nelson, Esq., died at the residence of her husband, in this city, last Sabbath afternoon, in the fifty-third year of her age .... She was the daughter of the late General David Rodes, of Lynchburg, and a sister of the lamented Major-General Robert E. Rodes, who fell at the head of his division at the battle of Winchester, in September 1864 .... funeral services were from the Presbyterian Church ... Rev. Drs. McFarland and

Hawes officiating ... With the bereaved husband and children were his brother, Professor A. L. Nelson, of Washington and Lee University. (24 Mar 1886)

... death of Rev. Robert NELSON, D. D. ... last Thursday at Oakland, Va. Dr. Nelson had been for thirty years a missionary to China .... Six years ago ... took charge of a parish at Woodbury, Connecticut .... was the grandson of Gov. Thomas Nelson, of Yorktown .... married Miss Poyntz, daughter of the U. S. Marshall of the Western District of Virginia .... Mrs. Nelson was a native of this city, a daughter of the late Jas. Poyntz, Esq., and a sister of Leonidas Poyntz, a teacher at the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute. (28 Jul 1886)

Mrs. Amanda T. [NEWTON], widow of the late John Newton, and mother of Major J. W. Newton and Mrs. Lizzie Coates of this city, died at the residence of the latter last Sunday in the 81<sup>st</sup> year of her age. The funeral was from the Methodist Episcopal Church South ... Rev. J. S. Gardner, pastor. (24 Nov 1886)

Annie [OBAUGH] ... daughter of Mr. Cyrus and Mrs. Eddie Obaugh, died on the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. ... Rev. F. G. Raily of Mossy Creek conducted the funeral services. (17 Nov 1886)

At Stonewall, in this county, Oct. 2d, 1886 Mrs. Minnie C. OREBAUGH, wife of James Orebaugh and daughter of Samuel Byers aged 18 years, 10 months and 18 days. (13 Oct 1886)

Mr. Louis OTT, who was for so long Superintendent of the Coral Marble Co., near Craigsville, died at the residence of his brother-in-law, F. Brian, near Greefield last week .... he received at Munich, Germany, from the musical Congress ... the diploma for musical composition .... member of the Lutheran church. (29 Sep 1886)

... death of William H. OTT, Esq., of Fairfield, Rockbridge county ... Monday .... leaves a widow and several children .... was of the old Ott family of Riverheads District in this county; who from colonial times worshipped, and many of whom are buried, at New Providence church, where the deceased will be interred. (28 Apr 1886)

In Staunton, December 18<sup>th</sup>, B. B. PAINTER, aged 23 years. (29 Dec 1886)

At the residence of his father, on Sears' Hill, Saturday ... Chas. Ernest [PALMER], son of Chas. T. Palmer, in the thirteenth year of his age .... was buried from his father's residence, Rev. A. A. J. Bushong, at Woodstock, formerly Pastor of Mt. Tabor Church. (23 Jun 1886)

At Elmont, Arkansas, April 24<sup>th</sup> ... Mrs. Jas. McC. PARIS .... leaves one young child. Her husband is the son of Capt. Jas. R. Paris of this city. (5 May 1886)

... 18<sup>th</sup> of February, at his residence near Deerfield, Augusta Co. ... Lewis PAULY, in the 84<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... member of the M. E. Church for about 50 years. (26 May 1886)

Tuesday ... at his late residence on Green street, Lewis W. PEACO, in the seventy-first year of his age. (23 Jun 1886)

On Wednesday inst., Mr. Wm. H. PECK, aged 22 years, son of the late Henry H. Peck, died at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Logan Turner. (1 Dec 1886)

Wednesday of last week, at the residence of her father, Capt. John J. Stack, in this city. Mrs. Lee [POWELL] the wife of Mr. E. T. Powell, died in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of her age. The funeral was from St. Francis Catholic Church ... celebrated by her brother, Rev. Thomas Stack, of Alexandria. Rev. John Lynch, of Roanoke, delivered the sermon. (16 Jun 1886)

Mrs. Rebecca PROPES breathed her last at the residence of her husband, Mr. David Propes, on ... 7<sup>th</sup> inst., aged about 64 years .... funeral took place from Union Church .... Rev. R. S. Cunningham, of the M. E. Church South, conducted the services .... a native of this county, and was the daughter of Christopher Rumisell, deceased .... [leaves] husband and children. Parnassus Items. (13 Oct 1886)

On Saturday ... last near Staunton ... Miss Susy REYNOLDS, aged 64 years .... member of the M. E. Church, South, .... remains were interred in Thornrose Cemetery ... Rev. Dr. Gardner officiating. (5 May 1886)

On Monday ... last week, Mr. Emanuel RHODES, one mile from Harrisonburg on the Harrisonburg and Warm Springs Turnpike, died .... was about 67 years of age .... leaves two daughters and two sons, and a wife .... buried at Bethlehem Church. (18 Aug 1886)

Mrs. Mary S. [RIDDLEBERGER], wife of Mr. Elias Riddleberger, who lives one and a half miles west of Willow Spout, dec'd on ... the 19<sup>th</sup> instant. (28 Apr 1886)

At her residence near Greenville, on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, Mrs. Frances RUEBUSH, widow of Peter Ruebush, in the 71<sup>st</sup> year of her age. Her maiden name was Burkholder, and she was born and reared near Lacy Springs, Rockingham county. Of her six children three are living in distant Western States, and one, Mrs. Hatie Rosen, resides near Arbor Hill. She has two children dead, a son and a daughter – the former Hunter Ruebush, having been a member of the “Stonewall” brigade, was killed in battle near Winchester, Va. (22 Dec 1886)

March 20<sup>th</sup>, near Sangersville ... Catherine A. [SANGER], wife of Conrad Sanger, aged 53 years. (31 Mar 1886)

.... Death of Captain Edward H. SEARS (formerly postmaster of Staunton), which occurred in Boston, Massachusetts ... on the 22<sup>nd</sup> inst. .... was a son of the late Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., and had been during the Civil War and officer in the United States Navy. (25 Aug 1886) ... Co. D, Second Rhode Island Vols., was born at Newton Center, Mass., October 4, 1840 .... His mother was Elizabeth Gregg Corey, of Corey Hill, Brookline, Mass. .... was appointed postmaster ... by President Grant for two successive terms .... April 20, 1869 ... married Miss Amelia

Lockwood Wiley, formerly of Providence, R. I. .... Dr. Sears made Staunton, Va., the headquarters of the Peabody Education Fund for the South. In 1873 he resigned his position as postmaster ... and entered the employ of Sears & Bowers Insurance Agency ... Boston .... leaves a wife, two brothers, Capt. W. H. Sears and Lieutenant Robert D. Sears, and one sister, Mrs. Lizzie C. Fultz, wife of Dr. J. H. Fultz. (22 Sept 1886)

At his residence on Naked Creek, in this county on the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst. ... Capt. John SEAWRIGHT, aged 71 years a 5 months. He leaves one child. (19 May 1886)

Mrs. Rebecca SHAFER, aged about 65 years, widow of David Shafter, died ... at the home of her son-in-law, Mr. Jno. M. Henkle, in Augusta Co. ... 29<sup>th</sup> ult. (11 Aug 1886)

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, in Fincastle, Mrs. Sarah J. SHIRLEY, aged 52 years .... was well known in Staunton, being the mother of Mrs. Jno. Fitzgerald, of this city, and having numerous relatives in this community. (4 Aug 1886)

In Staunton, April 5<sup>th</sup> ... Edna L. [SHOTT], eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Shott, aged 15 years. (14 Apr 1886)

On Friday week, Dr. James SHOWALTER, of New Hope .... died, in the 41<sup>st</sup> year of his age. (1 Dec 1886)

... death of Mr. Daniel SHURLY ... recently at his residence in Vigo county, Ind. .... was 88 years of age .... native of this county, and was raised near Churchville. About ... 1834, with his family he left for the State of his adoption .... was a member of a very large family, only four of whom survive him – Mr. Wm. Shurley, of Churchville, Miss Nancy Shurley of Jennings Gap, Mrs. Sarah Bryan, of this place, and Mrs. Fannie Sheets, of Rockingham county. Parnassus Items. (30 Jun 1886)

Mrs. Columbia [SMITH], widow of the late W. A. J. Smith, and daughter of the late Thomas Bailie, of Richmond, died in that city on ... 19<sup>th</sup> instant ... funeral from Laurel Street Methodist Episcopal Church South .... was a sister of Mr. Wm. H. Bailie of the Internal Revenue Office in this city. (24 Nov 1886)

... Cornelia F. [SMITH], wife of Mr. Geo. A. Smith of Martinsburg, W. Va. and daughter of Mrs. Amanda M. Brady, of this city, died in Richmond, Sunday. Her remains were brought to her mother's house. Was 46 years, 10 months and 5 days. (14 Apr 1886)

Monday night last, Mrs. Sallie [SMITH], wife of Judge J. W. Green Smith, of this city, died at the residence of her father, J. C. McKelden, Esq., in Washington ... leaves one child. (21 Apr 1886)

Mr. Jacob SPECK, the father of our worthy sheriff T. R. N. Speck ... died at his residence near Fishersville ... October 21<sup>st</sup>, in the 67<sup>th</sup> year of his age, and his re-

mains were buried ... at Fishersville. Though a native of Shenandoah county, he lived the 43 years of his life in this county .... During the war, he was a member of the Augusta Rifles, commanded by Capt. Geo. T. Antrim, in the 5<sup>th</sup> Va. Regiment. He leaves a widow and three children – Miss Virginia E. Speck, and Messrs. T. R. N. Speck and Jas. A. Speck. (3 Nov 1886)

Mr. A. E. SPRAGUE, of Richmond, arrived on the train last Tuesday ... and was conveyed to the Hale House .... He died Sunday night ..... body was conveyed to Richmond, Monday. (6 Oct 1886)

Mr. John O. STEGER, a prominent lawyer of Richmond ... who had spent several months at the residence of Mr. Thomas K. Menefee near this city ... died there on Tuesday of last week at the age of 69 years. His remains were sent to Richmond for interment ... [in] Hollywood. (29 Sep 1886)

... Mrs. Margaret STOMBOCK, (nee Hall), wife of Martin Stombock, who died on ... the 1<sup>st</sup> inst. .... Rev. G. R. Jefferson, of the M. E. Church South, conducted the funeral services of which church the deceased was a member. Her ashes were laid to ... rest ... beside those of her daughter Belle .... [leaves] husband and daughter. Parnassus Items. (5 May 1886)

On the 4<sup>th</sup> inst., Mrs. Harriet STRIBLING, widow of the late Jacob K. Stribling, who was a brother of the late Dr. Francis T. Stribling for many years Superintendent and Physician of the W. L. Asylum, died in this city at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. B. Ryan, dec'd, in the 64<sup>th</sup> year of her age. She leaves four children – Erasmus Stribling, of Richmond, Mrs. A. J. McMullen, of Kentucky, John W. Stribling, of Texas, and Mrs. B. Ryan of Staunton. (24 Nov 1886)

Edgar X. STUART died at the Western Lunatic Asylum on ... 19<sup>th</sup>, aged 36 years .... a son of the late A. F. Stuart. (24 Nov 1886)

Mrs. Lina McCue SUBLETT, wife of Mr. Walter S. Sublett, of Richmond, and daughter of Judge John Howard McCue, of this city, died ... at her home in Richmond on Wednesday of last week, at the age of thirty years, ten months and 3 days .... leaves a husband and two small children ... 6 and 4 years .... was buried from St. James Church in Shockoe Hill Cemetery. (22 Sept 1886)

At his residence near Greenville ... March 7<sup>th</sup> ... Mr. John W. SWARTZEL, aged about 50 years. (17 Mar 1886)

... death of Dr. James F. TATE ... on last Wednesday ... at the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. John B. Blackley, at the age of 40 years, 1 month and 23 days .... born October \_\_\_\_ 1846, - and was a son of Maj. Wm. M. Tate of this county, and was called for his maternal grand-father, the late James A. Frazier. His mother dying in his early childhood, he with his two sisters, younger than himself, was reared by Mrs. Jos. A. Waddell ... he entered the Rockbridge artillery, and served during the latter part of the war with that company .... studied medicine, and graduated in New York city. Locating in the neighborhood of Swoope's Depot ....

Married Miss Dora Mason, daughter of Capt. C. R. Mason. Became a member of Hebron Presbyterian Church some two years ago ... he went with Mason & Co., to Pennsylvania as physician to railroad hands and employees .... last Autumn accompanied Mason, Hoge & Co., to Kentucky, as physician to their employees .... returned to Staunton ... and died the 6<sup>th</sup>. (8 Dec 1886)

A young man named \_\_\_\_\_ TAYLOR, aged about 18, who had been working at Crimora Mines ... walked up the S. V. Road near Dooms ... lay down near the tracks to sleep. The early train, going North, struck him .... was from Vesuvius. (21 Jul 1886)

In Wilmington, Ohio, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October ... Elizabeth Trent [TELFAIR], wife of Hon. Wm. B. Telfair .... was born at Montgomery Hall, near Staunton ... in 1831, and was the daughter of the late John H. Peyton. She left three children, the eldest Wm. B. Telfair, Jr., an able lawyer of Southern Ohio, the second ... Susie Telfair ... who was recently married to C. M. Daugherty, Esq., of Xenia, Ohio, and John Baldwin, a minor. (3 Nov 1886)

Mr. Jas. THOMPSON ... died at his residence near Baylor's Mill on Monday ... of last week .... buried at Mt. Tabor Church, Rev. Mr. Spiggle conducting the services. Middlebrook News. (17 Nov 1886)

In this city, on Friday ... last ... Charles Wilber TRAYER, infant son of James P. and Lillian Trayer, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of his age. (8 Dec 1886)

In this city ... the 29<sup>th</sup> ult. ... Mrs. Jane TRAYER, aged 74 years. Her remains were buried in Thornrose cemetery, Rev. Dr. McFarland of the First Presbyterian church officiating. (7 Jul 1886)

... Prof. J. A. Turner of this city received [news] ... that his son George [TURNER] .... in Ohio ... died. (20 Oct 1886)

... 18<sup>th</sup>, at the residence of his son, Mr. Logan Turner, in this place, Mr. Wm. M. TURNER in the 75<sup>th</sup> year of his age. (26 May 1866)

At his home in Charlottesville ... the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant ... Charles WADDELL, son of the late Lyttleton Waddell, aged 22 years. The funeral was from the First Presbyterian church of Staunton, and the burial was in Thornrose Cemetery. (9 Jun 1886)

... death in Charlottesville on Friday night last, of Mr. Lyttleton WADDELL, Jr., late editor of the Charlottesville Chronicle, and previously for some years, and editor of the Staunton Spectator .... was a son of Lyttleton Waddell, Esq., and was born within four miles of Staunton on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1829. After attending the Staunton Academy, of which his accomplished father was principal ... he began to write for newspapers. His first regular employment was as assistant editor of the Spectator .... Growing weary of the newspaper life, he embarked in mercantile business, first in Staunton and afterwards in Charlottesville. At the outbreak of the late war, he was a member of the Staunton Artillery, and served



that company in the first battle of Manassas. Later on, he was attached to the Signal Corps. Some 12 years ago, he removed to Charlottesville and took charge of the Chronicle .... Finally he sold his interest in that printing establishment and returned to merchantising in Charlottesville .... member and Ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church .... remains brought to Staunton .... services at the First Presbyterian Church, conducted by Rev. Geo. L. Petrie, of Charlottesville, and Rev. Dr. McFarland, the interment took place in Thronrose Cemetery .... His wife was Miss Nannie L. Montgomery, of this county. She survives him and also six children, two daughters (Mrs. McGee and Mrs. Wood), and four sons. (5 May 1886)

Miss Sallie WADDELL died in Lexington on Tuesday of last week, in the 89<sup>th</sup> year of her age, and was buried in Waynesboro' .... a sister of the late Dr. Livingston Wadell of Waynesboro'. (27 Oct 1886)

Mr. A. G. WAYLAND ... died at his residence near Swoope's Depot ... the 14<sup>th</sup> inst., in the 82<sup>nd</sup> year of his age .... a native of Madison county .... Mr. Edward Wayland of Waynesboro is a brother .... The deceased leaves two sons and three daughters. The sons are W. H. Wayland of Nevada, and E. G. Wayland of this county; and the daughters are Mrs. A. B. Lightner of this county; Mrs. Thos. Kirkpatrick, and Mrs. Ham Kirkpatrick of Greenbrier, W. Va. The interment ... at Hebron Church .... services performed by Rev. L. B. Johnston, Pastor of that church. (18 Aug 1886)

On the 26<sup>th</sup> instant, Miss Catherine WHEN, aged 33 years, daughter of Mr. Henry When, near this city. The deceased weighed about 300 lbs. (28 Apr 1886)

Mr. T. T. WHITE ... New Orleans ... [placed] an adopted daughter at the Virginia Female Institute in this city .... [native] of Rochester, New York .... [died] at Mr. S. D. Timberlake's residence .... Mrs. White, with the mother of the deceased ... proceeded with the corpse to Spenserport, near Rochester. (7 Apr 1886)

Miss Bettie WHITESEL, daughter of Mr. Ben Whitesel, died at her father's residence near here [Middlebrook] on last Saturday – aged father and mother. (28 Apr 1886)

On last Wednesday ... Mr. Lewis WHITMORE breathed his last ... in the 61<sup>st</sup> year of his age .... the funeral took place from the M. E. Church South at this place ... by his pastor, Rev. R. S. Cunningham .... leaves a wife, several sons and daughters ... was a soldier ... of the 8<sup>th</sup> Va. Regiment of the gallant brigade commanded by Gen'l Eppa Hunton. Parnassus Items. (30 Jun 1886)

Last Thursday evening, Nicholas [WHITMORE], youngest son of Mr. Martin S. and Susan F. Whitmore, aged 15 years, died .... Dockie ... he was familiarly called .... funeral ... from the M. E. Church South .... Rev. Prettyman, of Mt. Solon, conducting the services .... friends of the deceased acted as pall-bearers: Jefferson Hiner, Wm. B. Hamrick, Emmet Whitmore, A. Jones, Staton Hamack, and Jos. M. Dudley (7 Apr 1886)

C. Brown WILLIS, a member of the Black Horse Cavalry, recently a clerk in the District of Columbia government, and son of Supervisor Willis of Fauquier, died at Staunton, Wednesday. (25 Aug 1886)

Eva WILSON. See Lana FARARA.

Near Craigsville, May 29<sup>th</sup> Mr. Wm. H. WISE, aged about 58 years. (2 Jun 1886)

Mrs. WISEMAN, nee Miss Brown, of Alleghany, died ... the 15<sup>th</sup> instant at the residence of her husband, Mr. Kinney Wiseman, near Fishersville .... was buried at St. James Church ... Rev. Mr. Whitescarver, of Waynesboro', conducting the funeral services. (22 Sep 1886)

... April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1886, near Gerardstown, Berkley Co., W. Va., Mr. Geo. W. WOMELDORPH, in the 71<sup>st</sup> year of his age. His remains were interred in the Presbyterian grave-yard .... leaves a wife and three children .... for many years a resident of Augusta Co. (21 Apr 1886)

Wm. H. WODELL, died at his home on North River, near Sangersville, on ... 18<sup>th</sup> inst., aged about 58 years. (28 Jul 1886)

Mr. W. D. WOODS ... died Friday and was buried Sunday by the Masonic Lodge of this place, of which he was a member .... He had just completed the carpenter work of the new Masonic Hall. Waynesboro News. (26 May 1886)

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, Warren [WOODSON], infant child of J. H. and Sallie Woodson, aged 3 months and 21 days. (28 Jul 1886)

Mr. Anthony D. WREN, whose residence is a few miles South of this city, died ... 20<sup>th</sup> instant in the 69<sup>th</sup> year of his age .... was from Richmond, and came to Staunton many years ago. He married here a daughter of Jno. Breckenridge, Esq. .... Mrs. Wren has been dead several years .... leaves a family of several sons and daughters .... was a member of the Staunton Lodge of Masons, and will be buried by that Order. The funeral will take place from Trinity Episcopal Church. (22 Sep 1886)

In this city on the 15<sup>th</sup> instant ... Mr. Henry YEAGER, in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of his age. (22 Dec 1886)

Issues of the paper for January and February were either missing or incomplete. Throughout the paper parts were difficult to read especially numbers. One should try to verify these from other sources if possible.

this county – Augusta

this city – Staunton

inst., instant – this month

ult, ultims – last month

# Staunton's Newtown

## by Dr. Katharine Brown

*This article is adapted from the illustrated talk that Dr. Katharine Brown gave for the Fall 2005, meeting of the Augusta County Historical Society at Trinity Episcopal Church in Staunton. The material comes from the book published the fall of 2005, **Staunton's Newtown: Portrait of a Historic District**. This volume included more than two dozen of her students in historic preservation classes at Mary Baldwin College as co-authors with the research they had done on individual houses in Newtown. The book may be obtained from Lot's Wife Publishing, P.O. Box 1844, Staunton, VA 24402.*

When Alexander St. Clair created a substantial addition to the town of Staunton in 1787, he chose the name "New Town" as a contrast to the "Old Town" of Staunton that had been around for four decades. His addition represented the lifestyle of the new American republic, not the colonial village that was part of the empire of Britain's King George III. On November 6, 1787, Virginia's General Assembly annexed St. Clair's twenty-five acre addition to Staunton.<sup>1</sup>

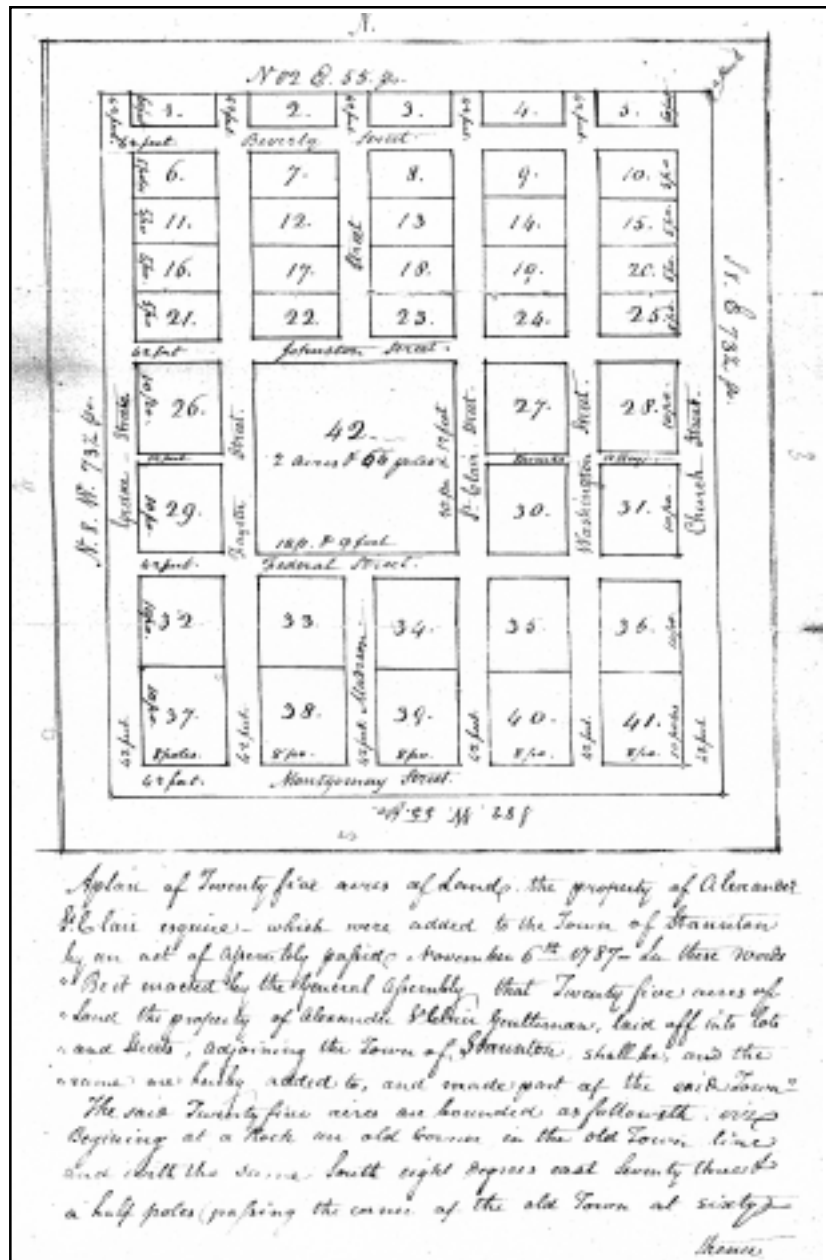
St. Clair had divided his twenty-five acres into forty-two rectangular, numbered building lots laid out on a grid just west of the Augusta Parish Church on the western edge of town.<sup>2</sup> His choice of street names is highly significant, for they celebrated the achievements of the American Revolution and of the new federal constitution just written and then in the process of ratification in the thirteen states.

Beverley Street continued west from the old town, bearing the name of the Essex County planter, William Beverley, whose Beverley Manor grant drew thousands of settlers to the Valley, especially the Scotch-Irish. Church Street, bordering the western side of the parish church, received an obvious name, as that was the only church in Staunton in 1787. All the other streets honored heroes of the Revolution and the new political structure of the new nation. Washington Street honored the hero general who had not yet been elected president under the new constitution. Fayette Street honored the Marquis de Lafayette, the French aristocrat who threw his lot in with the American revolutionaries and became a close friend and advisor to Wash-

ington. Greene Street, on the western edge of the original Newtown plat, was named for General Nathanael Greene, the Rhode Island Quaker foundry operator who was quartermaster general for the Continental Army and who led the successful Southern Campaign to victory at Camden and Guilford Court House.<sup>3</sup> Eventually the “e” was dropped from Greene Street, losing the identity with the Revolutionary leader, and the northern half of the street was later renamed Jefferson Street, for another Revolutionary leader who was altogether absent from the original Newtown map.

St. Clair Street probably has a double meaning. Alexander St. Clair, a prominent local merchant of Ulster Scots background served as an officer in the Revolution and certainly could have named the street for himself. General Arthur St. Clair, however, was a more prominent figure to bear the name. A Scot and former British army officer, he threw his lot with the patriots and served as a brigadier general with Washington at Trenton and Princeton. At the time Newtown was founded, St. Clair was President of Continental Congress, the chief executive officer in the new nation.<sup>4</sup> Madison Street was named for young James Madison, who helped draft Virginia’s first constitution, served in Continental Congress, played a key role in steering Jefferson’s Religious Freedom bill through the Virginia legislature, and in 1787 took an important role in the convention that wrote the new United States Constitution.

Montgomery Street formed the southern boundary of St. Clair’s Newtown addition, but that street was subsequently renamed Lushbaugh Street. Richard Montgomery, the original honoree, was an Irish-born former British army officer who joined the patriots and gave his life in the failed 1775 effort to take Quebec and bring Canada into the new nation. Johnson Street honors one of early Augusta County’s outstanding leaders, a man nearly forgotten today, Zechariah Johnston. His name is so lost to local memory that it is no longer correctly spelled on street signs and maps. Johnston was a longtime member of the House of Burgesses from Augusta County, who chaired its Committee on Religion and played a key role in the passage of Jefferson’s Religious Freedom bill in 1786. In 1788 Johnston was possibly the most significant figure in achieving the ratification of the new United States Constitution in Virginia. Federal Street, parallel to Johnson Street, is a reminder of the strong support for the new federal constitution in the Staunton area.



This plat, reciting the boundaries of Newtown and its creation by the Virginia General Assembly on November 6, 1787, is found in the earliest of Staunton's land tax books.



*Archibald Stuart*

Architecturally, Newtown in its early decades bore little resemblance to Newtown today. However, socially, then, as now, it was a mixed neighborhood, with mansions of the wealthy located near log and stone houses of modest persons, with whites and blacks as neighbors, and with landowners and tenants. Early land sales in Newtown are recorded in the county, as Staunton did not yet have a separate court system. The first purchases were recorded in the summer of 1788 in Augusta County deed book twenty-six. Archibald Stuart bought the first lot, number thirty-one, one of the larger half-acre lots, bounded by

Church, Federal, and Washington Streets, for fifty pounds.<sup>5</sup> This is the land on which Stuart House stands today, still home to his descendants.



*Stuart House*

The first Stuart structure was a small gambrel-roofed house on Washington Street where Stuart and his bride lived while they constructed their mansion, and where the young lawyer had his law office. In 1791 the brick house was built on Classical Revival lines that clearly reflect the Jeffersonian influence Stuart absorbed while studying law with Thomas Jefferson in 1782-3. In 1796, Stuart insured his fine house with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia for which company Alexander St. Clair was the local representative. The policy shows a kitchen building added in 1816 and a school house in 1831. At Stuart's death in 1832, his youngest son, A.H.H. Stuart inherited the property and made it home for his large family. In 1844 they removed a wing and kitchen, replacing them with a substantial brick addition to the south that may have been designed by Thomas Blackburn (1795-1867). Blackburn, who had learned his skill working on the University of Virginia, was Staunton's leading architect and builder in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He is best known for designing and building several of the Western State Hospital structures and for the court house.<sup>6</sup>

Another early purchaser was James Lyle, Jr., who bought the half-



*The James Lyle, Jr. House probably stood on its lot at the corner of South Washington and Johnston Streets when Newtown was created.*

acre lot number twenty-seven bounded by Washington, Johnston, and St. Clair Streets. Lyle paid five hundred pounds for his purchase, ten times that of Archibald Stuart for a lot the same size.<sup>7</sup> This seems a certain indication that a house already stood on the lot, no doubt the one that stands there today with its handsome brick end chimneys, as the oldest house in Newtown. Lyle's wife, Margaret Briscoe Lyle, was a first cousin to Eleanor Briscoe Stuart, wife of Archibald Stuart, builder of Stuart House.

The list of original purchasers of lots is dominated by the Scotch-Irish, with names such as Robert Gamble, James McCullogh, Hugh McDowell, John Kilcannon (Kilkenny), James Lyle, Archibald Stuart, and Alexander Humphreys. However, there were several persons of German background among the early purchasers, especially Michael Seyford (Seiffert), George Weifford, Francis Huff, and Valentine Miller.<sup>8</sup> Weifford's purchase of lot number twenty between Church and Washington Streets in 1802 was one of the early deeds recorded in Staunton, which by then had its own court of hustings.<sup>9</sup>

The houses of nearly all these early purchasers have long ago disappeared, to be replaced by post Civil War Italianate houses, later nineteenth-century vernacular or Queen Anne style houses, and finally by Colonial Revival houses in the early years of the twentieth century. One of the early vernacular houses to survive was that built by the Scottish-born barber, Smith Thompson, on lot number one on the north side of Beverley Street near the corner of Greene (Jefferson today). Thompson purchased his lot from St. Clair in 1790 and probably began constructing his log house in 1791 as a story-and-a-half house over a stone foundation. The house was greatly expanded to the west in the nineteenth century. Thompson served in the Continental Army, claimed to have been barber to George Washington, and enjoyed taking part in the Fourth of July parade throughout his life. He served the town of Staunton as a tax collector and served his Newtown neighbors as their friend, witness to their wills, executor for their estates, and guardian to their children.<sup>10</sup>

Hugh McDowell, a planter in the county and merchant in Staunton, purchased a lot on Fayette Street in 1790 and had at least constructed a stable on it by the time of his death. When his executors sold the land in 1811 to Dabney Cosby, it apparently had on it the three-bay frame house that still stands at 19 Fayette Street.<sup>11</sup> On the opposite side at 26 Fayette Street stands another early Newtown house, that of John Grove. He was the son of Christian Grove, who had purchased lot number eleven from



St. Clair in 1802. In 1811, John purchased lot number twenty-one at the corner of Fayette and Johnston, but probably did not build the vernacular Federal style brick house with Greek Revival touches until about 1838.<sup>12</sup>

William King, a Methodist class leader and preacher, bought a Newtown lot facing Beverley Street in 1803. In 1811, Archibald Stuart and John Howe Peyton convinced King to travel to Williamsburg to be ordained an Episcopal minister by Bishop James Madison. King returned to Staunton and worked to revive the old parish church, which had been without a minister since the 1790s.

Another surviving early house in the Newtown Historic District is that of Adams Lushbaugh at 10 North Washington Street. In 1824 this master carpenter purchased lot number four facing Beverley Street between Washington and St. Clair Streets. Alexander St. Clair had originally sold this lot in 1794 to John Kilcannon, but Lushbaugh bought it from William Eskridge. The house on this lot in which Lushbaugh raised his young family has long since been replaced by a row of brick storefronts. Meanwhile, Lushbaugh bought land on the west side of North Washington Street from Archibald Stuart. This was outside the St. Clair Newtown addition, but was later added to Staunton and is now part of the historic Newtown District. Stuart's executors granted him a deed in 1832, but Lushbaugh may already have started construction on a frame house with an English basement on the lot. This became the family home and Lushbaugh expanded it at least twice in his lifetime. His sons, Harman and William, followed in their father's footsteps and became among the leading contractors in the town of Staunton. They also established a large planing mill and door and sash factory along Montgomery Street at the bottom of Church and Washington Streets.<sup>13</sup>

Newtown not only attracted persons who wanted to build a house there. It also began early to attract church congregations as a location for new houses of worship. The parish church was already there and became the Episcopal Church in the aftermath of the American Revolution. Methodists appeared in Staunton in 1793 with a visit from Bishop Francis Asbury and the arrival of the blacksmith Sampson Eagon in town. Around 1800 the Methodist congregation that had formed in Staunton purchased a lot on Lewis Street from Mayor Jacob Swoope and built on it a one story brick church. The Episcopal congregation, which had languished in the years following the Revolution, had several energetic young ministers in the 1820s and 1830s who built up the congregation. In 1830 the ves-

try decided to tear down the old colonial church with its box pews and build a simpler contemporary brick church beside the older one. Harmon J. Lushbaugh, son of Adams Lushbaugh, was contractor for this project. In these years that church took the name of Trinity Episcopal Church.

By 1834, the Methodist congregation had outgrown its church and built a second one on the same site. In another quarter century, this rapidly growing congregation had outgrown its second church and constructed a third one on the same site in 1859, a two-story structure with Gothic decoration.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, two more church buildings were constructed in Newtown. Although the Baptist movement gained large numbers of members in eastern Virginia before and after the Revolution, it was slow taking root in the Valley. Only in 1853 was a Baptist congregation formed in Staunton. Its trustees purchased a lot on the corner of West Beverley and South Washington that had been lot number nine on St. Clair's original plat. On June 25, 1855, the Staunton Masonic Lodge participated in the cornerstone laying ceremony for a handsome classical style brick church with a tall steeple.<sup>15</sup> Although no architect is named, the style of the building suggests the work of Thomas Blackburn.

Trinity Episcopal Church had meanwhile outgrown its second small brick church and ushered in a new era of church architecture in Staunton with the construction of a Gothic Revival church. Plans were in place by 1853 and the cornerstone was laid on May 2, 1854, with Masons, Odd Fellows, and Sons of Temperance participating in the ceremony. The second church was torn down in 1856 and the stately new structure with its colorful geometric lancet windows, its buttresses, and its square, parapeted tower was consecrated in April of 1857. The architect was James Wood Johns, an Englishman who had designed the Anglican cathedral in Jerusalem.<sup>16</sup>

Newtown became not only a good location for churches, but also for schools for young ladies. Close on the heels of the creation of Augusta Female Seminary (AFS) on the eastern side of town by the Presbyterians in 1842 came an Episcopal school, Virginia Female Institute (VFI), in 1844. The chosen location for this school was in the western end of town along Frederick Street, adjacent to the original Newtown area, and just two blocks from Trinity Episcopal Church. The trustees engaged Edwin M. Taylor to design a Greek Revival structure for them that would not look like the building in the same style that the Presby-

terians had just built for AFS. Old Main, with its attic windows in the frieze, its lantern, and its portico supported by square pillars rather than Doric columns, is a fine example of the style. The student body grew from fifty students to 118 in the first decade. Among the students at the school in the 1850s were two daughters of Robert E. Lee.<sup>17</sup> In 1849 the Reverend Richard H. Phillips became the principal and led the school successfully for thirty-one years, while investing locally in real estate and in a woolen mill and founding a second girls' school.

Two years later in 1846 the Methodists, who had been planning a school in Staunton since 1837, saw their dream become reality when classes opened in the basement of the Methodist church on Lewis Street. The Baltimore Conference took the school under wing, naming trustees, and the Virginia General Assembly granted a charter in 1849 to Wesleyan Female Institute (WFI). The board engaged Captain John F. Smith to design a school and in May of 1850 the Masonic lodge laid the cornerstone of the building on Beverley Street opposite Trinity Church.

The year 1850 also saw the completion of a fine private residence in Newtown on a lot that had been a problem from the outset. This house would later become part of WFI. Lot number forty-two at the top of the Johnson Street hill, at two and on-half acres the largest on Alexander St. Clair's plat, had languished as the small and medium lots filled with



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*Stuart Hall's Old Main*

houses. It did not sell until 1808, when Abraham Smith, County Lieutenant of Rockingham and husband of James and Margaret Lyle's daughter Julia, bought it. The Smiths did not build upon it and it came back into the St. Clair family as the property of Dr. William Boys, Superintendent of Western State, and his wife, Jane St. Clair Boys. The Boys children were the heirs, and one of them, Maria Boys, married George M. Cochran, a lawyer and planter in the county. The Cochrans built on the lot a Greek Revival style house that was assessed at \$4,500, second in value only to Stuart House.<sup>18</sup>

The Civil War from 1861 to 1865 brought a halt to construction in Newtown, saw many of the young men in the neighborhood go off to war, and saw institutions take on new roles. Trinity Church became the location of the Virginia Theological Seminary that left Alexandria after its occupation by Union troops. The Commonwealth of Virginia took over the operation of VFI as the site of the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind, whose own campus east of town had become a military hospital.

Although the immediate postwar years were difficult ones in Staunton, as throughout the South, the town was in the midst of a strong recovery by the end of the 1860s that continued through much of the 1870s.



*The Reverend Joseph I. Miller of the Lutheran Church in Staunton built this Italianate house on Church Street in 1869.*

In Newtown, that recovery was reflected in a rash of building, both residential and institutional. Clergymen were much involved in that building boom. The Reverend James Latané, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, in 1863 had purchased from A.H.H. Stuart an undeveloped stretch of lots on the southern end of Church Street. These were lots thirty-six and forty-one that St. Clair had not been able to sell and that Archibald Stuart eventually bought. This section was known as Stuart's Garden. Latané engaged Jed Hotchkiss, Stonewall Jackson's mapmaker, to survey and divide the land into smaller building lots. One of the first houses constructed in the area was what is now 208 Church Street, built in 1869 by the Reverend Joseph Irenaeus Miller, pastor of Staunton's Evangelical Lutheran Church. This was constructed of brick in the Italianate style that dominated Newtown taste in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1871, the Millers sold their new house to Philip B. Sublett, a successful businessman who had moved from Richmond.<sup>19</sup>

Miller left his new house behind to embark upon a more ambitious building program in Newtown on Fayette Street. That was the founding of Staunton Female Seminary, a Lutheran day and boarding school for young women on the lot that encompassed an entire city block. Joshua Phelps was architect for the school that opened in 1871 with forty-three students and grew to its maximum enrollment of eighty-three in 1877.<sup>20</sup>

Two more schools were founded in Newtown in the early 1870s and an existing school moved to a new location. The Wesleyan Female Institute had grown so successfully that it needed larger quarters. The trustees acquired the George M. Cochran house on West Johnson Street at the top of the hill in 1870. They constructed an adjacent house in 1871 and attached it to the Cochran house. Enrollment in the school increased dramatically to include 108 out-of-state boarders in addition to the local day students by 1877.

One of the new schools, the Staunton Baptist Female Institute, had a very short life. The Reverend John Hart, who had founded a school in Charlottesville in 1857, moved that institution to Staunton in 1871, leasing the original Wesleyan Female Institute building on Beverley Street opposite Trinity Church. In the 1872-73 academic year there were forty-five boarders and additional day students. In August of 1873 Hart became principal of Richmond Female Institute. Without its founder the Staunton school closed. In 1875, the Staunton School Board purchased the property and it became a public school.<sup>21</sup>

The Reverend Richard H. Phillips, principal of Virginia Female Institute and an enterprising businessman in town, founded another girls' school at the corner of West Frederick and North Washington Streets, opposite VFI. He was president of the joint stock company that operated the school, which was known as the Mozart Institute. The board engaged William A. Pratt, formerly of Richmond and more recently from Charlottesville, where he was superintendent of buildings and grounds at the University of Virginia, as architect. Pratt had also been architect for the 1869 expansion of Trinity Church and for its new rectory at the corner of Church and Johnston. Unfortunately, no photo or drawing is known to survive of the Mozart Institute building.

The school was in financial difficulty by 1876 and had ceased operation by 1877. The building, known then as Mozart Hall, became a venue for dances and soirees for the elite young people of Staunton. Thomas West, secretary and treasurer of the Mozart Institute when it was a school, later operated it as a boarding house when it was a school. In 1882, John Lewis Peyton, local historian, purchased the property and leased it to a manager as a hotel. In 1893, Peyton sold the Mozart Hotel to local businessman Charles T. Palmer. He demolished the hotel, divided the property into four building lots, and built for himself and his family a handsome brick mansion on the corner lot in the Queen Anne and Chateausque styles.<sup>22</sup>



*Adams Lushbaugh, patriarch of a leading Staunton family of builders, constructed the original portion of this North Washington Street house around 1830.*

Staunton acquired a public school system in the 1870s and three of Newtown's leading residents played prominent roles in its formation and direction. These were A.H.H. Stuart of Stuart House, his kinsman John B. Baldwin, speaker of the House of Delegates, and Major Henderson Bell, who had a house adjacent to the Methodist Church on Lewis Street at the corner of West Frederick. In 1875 the school board purchased the original WFI building on West Beverley recently used by the Baptist girls' school. This became the public elementary school and served in that capacity until 1916.

A small school had been constructed on Madison Street between Beverley and Frederick in 1873, originally for white children, but once the old WFI building had been purchased, the Madison Street school became the first school for African-American children in Staunton. It served that purpose until 1881, when a brick school was built on Central and West Frederick.

By the mid-1880s, the school board built a large three-story brick structure opposite Trinity Church to serve the white children of Staunton. By 1913 the school needed major repairs. It was totally remodeled by the T.J. Collins and Son firm to the Tudor appearance it has today and renamed the Stonewall Jackson School.<sup>23</sup>

The residential expansion of Newtown in the 1870s and 1880s was dramatic. The Italianate style was the taste choice of the middle and upper classes at the time and many excellent examples that were constructed in Newtown are still to be found there today. The Lutheran and Methodist churches each built a handsome parsonage in the style, the former on Fayette Street and the latter on Church Street. A.H.H. Stuart and his wife, Frances, sold the entire block of their property along Church Street facing Stuart House as building lots in 1869. Purchasers constructed Italianate houses there in the next decade, beginning with the frame house by the lawyer T.C. Elder in 1870. The banker and whiskey wholesaler, R.W. Burk, built a fine Italianate mansion at the corner of Church and Johnston Streets in 1874 that is currently undergoing restoration, and two attractive brick Italianates were built at the Federal Street end of the block. Harry N. and Mary E. Cootes constructed a handsome Italianate on the northwest corner of Church and Johnson, opposite the Episcopal rectory, in 1881. The grocery wholesaler, Charles E. Hoge, constructed an Italianate on the corner of Fayette and Federal in 1873. Possibly the largest and finest of the houses in this style was that constructed by the brickmaker and contractor, Benjamin Bagby, on West Frederick Street in 1878. This is now the

Belle-Grae Inn. Around 1880, Judge George M. Harrison built a fine Italianate at the corner of West Frederick and North Madison that is now the residence of the head of Stuart Hall. One of the final houses in the style to be constructed in Newtown was an eclectic blend of Italianate with high-style Eastlake ornamentation. This was the imposing house that Marc N. Bradley, a Staunton businessman, and his wife, Henry Clay Bradley of Louisville, built on Church Street opposite Trinity.<sup>24</sup>

The final decades of the nineteenth century saw three new churches founded in the area that is the Newtown Historic District. The first of these was Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church, formed by the black members of the Methodist Church on Lewis Street in November of 1865. The group purchased a lot on West Beverley Street and contracted for a church to be completed by November of that year. In the 1920s the building was either re-built or drastically altered to its present appearance. It served the congregation until 1997 and is now a residence.<sup>25</sup>

In 1875 a group of members of Staunton (First) Presbyterian Church, with Jed Hotchkiss as their leader, received permission to form a new congregation in town. The following year they purchased a lot at the corner of West Frederick and Lewis Streets from Mrs. John B. Baldwin and built there an attractive brick Gothic Revival church with a tower at the corner. This served the congregation until 1902, when it tore that structure down and replaced it with the present church in a white brick, a new building material at the time. That building was modified and enlarged to its present appearance in 1947, following a fire.<sup>26</sup>

At the close of the century, in 1893, Trinity Church experienced a break in its congregation that resulted in the formation of a second Episcopal parish just two blocks away. With the help of the Alexander Robertsons, the group acquired a house opposite Stuart Hall at the corner of North Washington and West Frederick. This they tore down to build a Victorian Gothic church designed by T.J. Collins, who had recently established his architecture firm in Staunton, following the demise of his employer, the Staunton Development Company. Contractor E.W. Stewart was also a resident of Newtown.

The final decade of the nineteenth century saw a dramatic spurt of building in Newtown and in a new style, the Queen Anne. Many modest frame houses were constructed in this style on Washington Street, Fayette Street and north of Frederick Street on North Madison and North Jefferson, as well as on Fillmore and Institute Streets. Outstanding examples of this



style were also built, mainly in brick, as mansions for the local wealthy in that decade.

Flora Cooke Stuart, widow of the Confederate cavalryman, General J.E.B. Stuart, and principal of Virginia Female Institute, built a charming Queen Anne frame house for herself at what is now 514 West Frederick Street. Around the corner on what had been Greene Street but is now 20 North Jefferson, the merchant Charles T. Palmer built a Queen Anne style brick mansion for his family. It is possible that T.J. Collins and his partner Hackett designed this. Collins later designed the Palmer House hotel on West Beverley, opposite the current city hall, for him. Palmer soon sold this mansion to the lawyer Lawrence W.H. Peyton. He had purchased the Mozart Hotel and had it demolished to build another Queen Anne brick mansion for himself at the corner of North Washington and West Frederick.<sup>27</sup>

Three factors contributed significantly to the dramatic building expansion in Newtown as the old century turned into the new. One was the appearance of T.J. Collins in Staunton, a professional architect able to build in the new styles that appealed to the wealthy of the time. Several of them chose to have him design houses for them in Newtown. Two of the most dramatic are those he designed for the



*Mrs. General J.E.B. Stuart had this Queen Anne style house on West Frederick Street built as her residence in 1893.*

lawyer Richard Phillips Bell, Sr. at 226 West Frederick Street in the Queen Anne style and for the grocer Henry Hutchinson at 220 West Frederick in the Queen Anne and Chateausque styles. Collins also chose to live in Newtown and designed a brick Romanesque Revival house in 1893 for his family at 230 Institute Street (originally called Walnut Street).

Another explanation for the dramatic growth was the appearance in town in 1890 of planing mill operator and contractor Benjamin Partlow and his wife Fannie. This couple purchased the two Newtown girls schools that failed, the Staunton Female Seminary and the Wesleyan Female Institute. They saved the principal parts of each school and turned them into fine residences, then developed the remainder of the two campuses. At SFS on Fayette Street they created the Lafayette Square addition, with three residences from the seminary buildings, and then new Queen Anne style frame houses on the additional building lots. From the larger WFI they developed the Madison Place addition. From the WFI buildings they created two mansions facing Johnson Street at the top of the hill, restoring the original George M. Cochran house, and creating a Greek Revival house from the mansard-roofed Second Empire adjoining structure. They had a new street cut parallel to St. Clair Street and required those who bought the lots and built houses on them to face that street. This had the effect of turning that block of St. Clair Street into a wide alley. Within a few years, seven single-family houses and a triplex were constructed on the new street, several of them probably by Partlow as contractor. The range of house styles included Queen Anne, Shingle, Foursquare, and Colonial Revival, each vying as the most popular and fashionable in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The third factor was the development of the land behind Virginia Female Institute (now Stuart Hall) on what is known as Reservoir Hill. In the late nineteenth century most of this land had been in the hands of the Rev. Richard Phillips of VFI and publisher Samuel Yost. Benjamin Bagby bought the Phillips land at the top of the hill and began to develop it as the Bagby Addition in 1891, with streets named for trees. Minor B. Hamrick and B.A. Blakemore, the photographer, acquired the Yost land that same year and planned to develop it as Madison Square. Hamrick died before that took place, but his widow later took up the work. T.J. Collins built his own house there in that interval, and around 1905 his son William, also a partner in the architecture firm, built two houses around the corner on Locust Street.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to several buildings added to the Stuart Hall campus at the turn of the century, four other significant institutional structures were constructed in Newtown prior to 1910. The Baptists outgrew their lovely classical building at the corner of South Washington and West Beverley and built a new church in the Romanesque Revival mode at the corner of Church and West Beverley in 1902-03. They sold their old church to the United Brethren congregation that had outgrown its little church on South Lewis Street. The United Brethren engaged the T.J. Collins firm to remodel the classical brick church entirely. Collins was fascinated with the new concrete block building material that looked like rough-cut stone. He removed the tall spire, added a parapeted square tower and pointed arch windows with stained glass and encased the entirety in the concrete blocks. He thus transformed the Greek Revival building into a Gothic Revival church. This building served briefly as home to Guardian Angel Academy and since 2000 has been home to Staunton Grace Covenant Church.<sup>29</sup>

The two other significant institutional buildings are both connected with a Pennsylvania man who established a large carriage and wagon factory in Staunton, James W. Bodley of Bodley's Wagon Works. Bodley was an ardent teetotaler and wanted to see an auditorium in town where speakers who advocated temperance and pushed for prohibition as a national policy could be heard. He was also a close friend of J.G. Dunsmore, who operated a successful business school in town. Bodley engaged T.J. Collins to design a building that could serve both purposes. The lower floor below street level on West Beverley was an auditorium seating nearly 1,000 persons, and the main floor housed the classrooms and offices of the Dunsmore Business College. That impressive building, which ceased serving as a business school in the 1970s, is awaiting adaptive use rehabilitation.<sup>30</sup>

Bodley was also an ardent Methodist of the northern persuasion, in those years when that large denomination was still divided into separate northern and southern churches. The venerable church on Lewis Street was of the southern persuasion. A small northern congregation was being gathered in Staunton, and Bodley took an active part in this, providing his new auditorium as a place of worship. He sold adjacent land he owned to the congregation, and they built there an imposing brick Romanesque Revival church what was known for years as the Beverley Street Methodist Church. In the 1971 the congregation acquired land on Churchville Avenue and built a new house of worship there which is now Christ United Methodist Church. Their old church is now home to Bible Way Community Church.<sup>31</sup>

One other institution that is included in the Newtown Historic District expanded with handsome structures in the 1890s. That is Thornrose Cemetery. The secretary of the board that operates the institution engaged T.J. Collins to design imposing structures for the cemetery, some functional, such as the wall along West Beverley Street, the gatehouse, and the mortuary chapel, and others purely decorative, such as the bridge and tower. These transformed the appearance of this handsome burial ground. In addition, a number of the town's wealthier families engaged Collins to design magnificent mausoleums, located side by side at the southeastern corner of the cemetery facing West Beverley Street.

Very little construction took place in Newtown during the two decades from 1910 until the late 1920s. This reflected in part the fact that few building lots remained in the area. However, in those two decades there had been a dramatic taste shift among the American population. The several styles of the Victorian era, Gothic Revival, Italian Villa, Italianate, Romanesque Revival, Queen Anne, Stick, Shingle, and Chateausque, were generally lumped together as "Victorian" and despised. The Colonial Revival style had swept the country. The buildings that were constructed in Newtown in the late 1920s and the 1930s reflected that taste shift completely. Many families that possessed a house in one of the Victorian styles did all within their power to play down that fact. One method was to paint the red brick a "colonial" color such as yellow or white. Another was to remove a porch that was Italianate, Stick, or Queen Anne and replace it with a Colonial Revival porch with Tuscan columns and a simple rail balustrade in place of the sawn work that reflected the exuberance of the Victorian era.

The principal architect in the T.J. Collins firm by the late 1920s was Sam Collins. He is responsible for designing several fine Newtown residences in the newly popular Colonial Revival style. These include the Gilpin Willson, Jr. house at 216 West Frederick Street that is now the Staunton Choral Gardens Bed and Breakfast, the Richard M. Hamrick House at 215 Fillmore Street, and the house built for city manager Willard Day at 402 Osage Place in 1929. This is now known as Carroll House, the alumnae house for Stuart Hall.

The Baptists had tired of their 1902 Romanesque Church and contracted in 1928 with a leading Virginia architect who designed buildings for many of the commonwealth's colleges, Charles Robinson of the James Robinson & Sons firm in Richmond, to design a Colonial Revival church. His handsome building at the corner of West Frederick and St. Clair is a

triumph of the new taste, but pressed the congregation seriously, with construction bills coming just as the Great Depression hit. The former Baptist church also bowed to the new taste, for a local businessman, C.K. Morrison, acquired it, demolished it, and in 1939 had Waynesboro architects Daley Craig and Fleming Hurt design a Colonial Revival storefront and apartment building to replace it.

The post World War II years were not always kind to Newtown. In the pressing need for housing, many of the large older houses were divided into several apartments to meet the needs of returning servicemen and women and the young families they were starting. But those young families were only saving up to acquire a modern new ranch house in the



*This photo looking from Church Street onto West Beverley Street shows one building that has survived and another that has vanished from Newtown. The survivor is the duplex apartment building on West Beverley, just west of the former Stonewall Jackson School, seen at the right of the photo. The vanished building fills the left and center of the photo. This is the second Newtown structure to house the congregation of First Baptist Church. The cornerstone of this building was laid in September of 1902. The contractor was Maynard Stoddard. The building was demolished in the late 1930s and replaced with the Morrison Building. The horse-drawn wagon and teamster remind that the age of the automobile had not yet hit Staunton. (Photo courtesy of Hamrick Collection)*



*This Newtown photo was taken about 1905 yet very little has changed at this corner in 2005. This building, which housed the Bowers Grocery then, now houses a shop. The upstairs floors are still used as apartments, just as they were in 1905. Only the balcony is missing today, but the streets have been paved, and the trolley tracks no longer run on Beverley. (Photo courtesy of Hamrick Collection)*

suburbs that were springing up on the northside and westside of Staunton in the 1950s and 1960s. Often, the tenants that replaced them had less respect for the property of a landlord. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, while some of the old families remained, Newtown had gained many new residents who did not represent the best civic virtues, and some who scorned them totally.

While many recognized it as an area of wonderful architectural interest, few had the courage to purchase and restore property there. And yet, enough did so that a revival of the district began to occur. The work of Justice and Mrs. George M. Cochran with Stuart House and of James Lamb and Eleanor Patrick with several properties began to encourage others. The Robert Weases and Waller Lescures were among those. The formation of the Historic Staunton Foundation and the creation of the Newtown Historic District offered further encouragement to save structures in the area, as did the creation of the Belle-Grae Inn from the old Bagby mansion. The decade from 1995-2005, in particular, has seen a re-

markable rebirth of Newtown as one of the most desirable neighborhoods, not only in Staunton, but in the Shenandoah Valley. Large investment of the churches in improving their properties has assured that these institutions will remain as anchors. A strong neighborhood association and a dynamic business guild have built a spirit of cooperation among those who have chosen to invest and live in Newtown, and positive assistance from the city has contributed to that revival.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Hening's Statutes.

<sup>2</sup>The original plat for Newtown is found in the land books for Staunton in the office of the Clerk of the Court, City of Staunton.

<sup>3</sup>*Dictionary of American Biography*, 10(1943):535-9

<sup>4</sup>For Alexander St. Clair, see Joseph Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, 1726-1781*, 2nd edition, 1902 (reprinted Harrisonburg, Va.: C.J. Carrier, 1972) 216, 252, 312. For Arthur St. Clair see *Dictionary of American Biography*, 16(1943): 293-5.

<sup>5</sup>Alexander St. Clair to Archibald Stuart, 15 July 1788, Augusta Deed Book 26:185-6.

<sup>6</sup>National Register nomination for Stuart House at Historic Staunton Foundation; Mutual Assurance Society policy records.

<sup>7</sup>Alexander St. Clair to James Lyle, Jr., 15 July 1788, Augusta Deed Book 26: 188.

<sup>8</sup>See Augusta Deed book 26: 189-90; 398; 27:7; 28:283, 464; Staunton Deed Book 1: 5, 58.

<sup>9</sup>Alexander St. Clair to George Weifford, 20 September 1802, Staunton Deed Book 1:5.

<sup>10</sup>Mutual Assurance Society policies, Historic Staunton inventory, information from current owners, Shirley and Craig Peterson.

<sup>11</sup>Augusta County Deed Book 26:398, Staunton Deed Books 1:244, 320, 390; Listing of Houses and Lots in the Corporation of Staunton, 1797-1827.

<sup>12</sup>Listing of Houses and Lots in the Corporation of Staunton, 1797-1827 and 1828-1849.

<sup>13</sup>Augusta County Deed Book 54; Listing of Houses and Lots in the Corporation of Staunton, 1797-1827 and 1828-1849. Va., 1997).

<sup>14</sup>Mary Knowles Hamilton, *200 Years and the Flame Still Burns: The History of Central United Methodist Church, 1797-1997* (Staunton, Va., 1997).

<sup>15</sup>Author unknown, a mimeographed history of the first century of First Baptist Church, Staunton, in the files at the church office.

<sup>16</sup>Nancy T. Sorrells, Katharine L. Brown, J. Susanne Simmons, 'Conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline': *The History of Trinity Episcopal Church, Augusta Parish, Staunton, Virginia, 1746-1996* (Staunton, Va.: Lot's Wife Publishing, 1996).

<sup>17</sup>Martha Dabney Jones, "History of Stuart Hall," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, 5(Spring 1969): 5-23.

<sup>18</sup>Staunton deed, will, and land tax books.

<sup>19</sup>Research carried out by Debra Cash Camden in the Staunton land tax books, deed and will books tells the story of this house.

<sup>20</sup>William Edward Eisenberg, *The Lutheran Church in Virginia, 1717-1962* (Roanoke, Va.: Trustees of the Virginia Synod, 1967), 359-64.

<sup>21</sup>Richard MacMaster, *Augusta County History, 1865-1890*, (Staunton, Va.: Augusta County Historical Society, 1984), 43; *Staunton Spectator*, 26 August 1873.

<sup>22</sup>Mozart Institute information can be found in the research files of Historic Staunton Foundation, Augusta County Charter Book I; *Staunton Spectator*, 8, 15 October 1873; *Staunton Vindicator*, 2 June 1876.

<sup>23</sup>For post Civil War education see MacMaster, *Augusta County History*, 51-61. For black schools, see Arthur Ware, "Black Education in Staunton," *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, 17(Fall 1981): 4-15.

<sup>24</sup>Detailed information on each of these houses is to be found in Katharine Brown, *Staunton's Newtown: Portrait of a Historic District*.

<sup>25</sup>Joe Nutt, editor, *Historical Sketches of African-American Churches (Past and Present) of Augusta County, Staunton, Waynesboro & Vicinity, including Cemetery Burial Records and Biographies*, (Staunton, 2001).

<sup>26</sup>Katharine L. Brown, *The History of Second Presbyterian Church, 1875-2000*, (Staunton, Va.: Lot's Wife Publishing, 2002).

<sup>27</sup>Details about these three fine houses may be found in the student research in Brown, *Staunton's Newtown*.

<sup>28</sup>Information about Madison Square and a plat may be found in Staunton deed books. Additional information has come from Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., grandson of a founding partner, and from research by Nancy T. Sorrells on the Kerr House in the subdivision. See Brown, *Staunton's Newtown*.

<sup>29</sup>Plans for the conversion of the United Brethren Church are in the Collins Collection at Historic Staunton Foundation. The author is grateful to the foundation for the opportunity to view them.

<sup>30</sup>See *Staunton Spectator and Vindicator*, 7 September 1900, 3 April 1903 and 4 September 1903.

<sup>31</sup>Anna S. Parish, historian of Christ United Methodist Church provided the information about the history of this congregation and its building. See also Hamilton, *200 Years and the Flame Still Burns*, and Staunton deed books 17:53, 19:179-81, and 24:383.



*This stately house on North Jefferson Street is the first of two brick mansions that the merchant Charles T. Palmer built for his family in Newtown.*



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# AUGUSTA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2005

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**Augusta County Historical Society office hours:**

Monday, Wednesday, Friday 9 a.m.-noon

Office phone: 540-248-4151

Website: [www.augustacountyhs.org](http://www.augustacountyhs.org)



## ACHS Family Heritage Program

The Augusta County Historical Society announces with pride the formation of a family heritage recognition program. Augusta Pioneers has been formed for those whose family roots extend to the early years of the county, and who wish to submit their line of descent to complement the growing archives of the society.

Three types of membership in Augusta Pioneers will be recognized. *First Families* of Augusta County **is the membership category for those whose ancestors settled in the county in the period from its founding in 1738 (or before) to the year 1800.** *Pioneer Families* of Augusta County **is for those whose forbears settled in Augusta County in the nineteenth century, that is between the years 1801 and 1900.** *Junior Pioneers* of Augusta County **recognizes young people from the cradle to age eighteen who are descendants of First Families or Pioneer Families.**

Jane Sherman, C.G.R.S. (Certified Genealogical Record Searcher), who suggested the society to the board, has graciously consented to serve as volunteer Registrar for Augusta Pioneers. Her valuable professional expertise in the records of Augusta County as well as her long service with the Daughters of the American Revolution and other distinguished patriotic and ancestral organizations make her uniquely qualified as registrar for the new society.

If you believe that you are qualified to be an Augusta Pioneer or if you would also like to enroll young family members—children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews—simply send in the form below to receive the application. Jane Sherman will check the completed applications and then certify to the society's board that you have been accepted for membership in either First Families of Augusta County, Pioneer Families of Augusta County, or Junior Pioneers of Augusta County. The application genealogy files will become a part of the archives of the Augusta County Historical Society and available to family researchers.

All members will receive a handsome matted certificate of membership, suitable for framing. Membership in Augusta Pioneers is a one-time recognition that lasts a lifetime. Once the initial application fee is paid, there are no annual dues assessed. The fee for membership in Augusta Pioneers is a flat \$40 for descent from one ancestor. Additional ancestors may be added for \$15 each. The junior member enrollment fee is \$15. Upon reaching the age of eighteen, junior members can elect to pay the additional \$25 to become full-fledged members.

\_\_\_\_ Yes! I am interested in becoming an Augusta Pioneer. Please send the official application form and instructions for its completion to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
e-mail \_\_\_\_\_

*Please note that you may also print this same form from our website*  
**[www.augustacountyhs.org](http://www.augustacountyhs.org)**

\*\*\*Mail the form to: Augusta County Historical Society, Attn.: Jane Sherman, P.O. Box 686, Staunton, VA 24402-0686

## Books for sale by the historical society

*Augusta County Atlas*, by Joseph A. Waddell and Jed Hotchkiss (orig., 1885; 3rd reprinting, 1991. This work is the basic guide to 19<sup>th</sup>-century Augusta communities, roads, and geographic features. Illustrated with historic drawings of Augusta County farmsteads and sites from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and based on the maps that Jed Hotchkiss, Stonewall Jackson's cartographer, drew. \$35 + \$1.75 tax

*Augusta County History: 1865-1950*, by Richard K. MacMaster. Carefully documented, well illustrated, annotated updating of Augusta County history by a skilled professional historian. \$30 + \$1.50 tax

*Augusta Declaration* (a poster). Historic statement of the grievances of Augusta County residents against the British. \$3 + \$.15 tax

*Augusta Historical Bulletin*, back issues to 2005. Prior to 2000, copies published semiannually and saddlestitched. From 2000 to present copies published annually, perfect bound, and indexed. \$15 + \$.75 tax

Calendar Drawings, by local artist Joe Nutt. Features historic homes, churches, and other landmarks drawn by local artist. Each calendar contains drawings of 13 different landmarks and written sketches. Available years: 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998 (specify year when ordering) \$2 + \$.10 tax

*Free Negroes in Augusta and Staunton* compiled by Katharine G. Bushman. Thoroughly done collection of names from local records vital to understanding early African-American history. Done by an experienced genealogist and local historian. \$10 + \$.50 tax

*Gibraltar of the Shenandoah—Civil War Sites and Stories of Staunton, Waynesboro, and Augusta County, Virginia* by Robert H. Moore II. Accurate and scholarly tour guide to Civil War sites in the Augusta County vicinity. Well illustrated with specific directions to locations. Maps, index, and appendices with names of persons who served. \$24.95 + \$2.48 tax

*Great Valley Patriots* by Howard M. Wilson. Inspiring account of patriot leaders of the Shenandoah Valley from the American Revolutionary era by a veteran historian of the Valley. Special emphasis on early Scotch-Irish settlers. \$15 + \$.75 tax

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*Marriage Records #1 (Supplement)*. Essential compilation of early Augusta County marriage records. Valuable for genealogical researchers. \$3 + \$.15 tax

*Marriage Records #2*. Continuation of early Augusta County marriage records for genealogical researchers. \$6

*Mills of Augusta County* by Janet and Earl Downs. Comprehensive

survey of Augusta County flour mills during the age of wheat agriculture in Augusta County. Well illustrated and indexed. Names of many Augusta County families in all parts of the county. \$40 + \$2 tax

*Naturalization Records* compiled by Katharine G. Bushman. Important collection of names of persons naturalized in local courts from the extensive research of a professional genealogical researcher in Augusta County records. \$5 + \$.25 tax

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*Portals to Shenandoah Valley Folkways* edited by Dorothy A Boyd-Bragg, softcover, illustrated, and fully indexed, 137 pp. Four well-known experts on Shenandoah Valley folkways are featured. Folklorist John L. Heatwole considers aspects of local folklore, including witches and hexing. Local historian Nancy T. Sorrells contributes a view of the role of cattle in valley life, including cattle drives. The importance of crafts, especially pottery and basket making, is the theme Scott H. Suter pursues. Food historian Danielle M. Torisky follows foodways of the Civil War era, including local recipes that were regarded as comfort foods to Valley folk. \$15 + \$.75 tax

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